VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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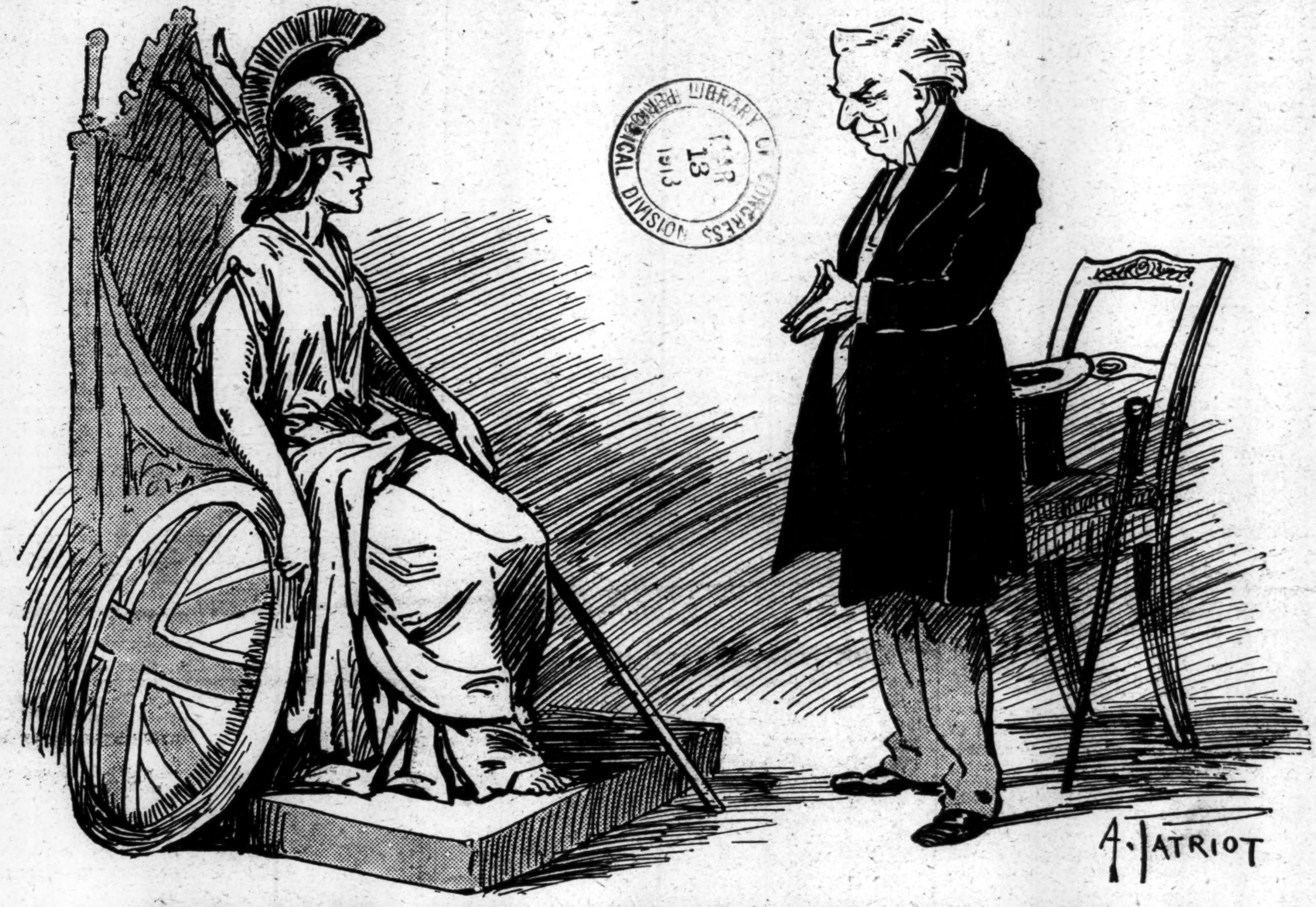
HOW THE GOVERNMENT DEALS WITH MILITANCY



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MISTAKING THE SYMPTOM FOR THE DISEASE

DOCTOR ASQUITH (to Britannia, who is suffering from internal disorder): "I do not like the look of your tongue; I propose to cut it out."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

On Monday afternoon the Government had Mrs. Pankhurst arrested. She was taken to Scotland Yard and subsequently to Leatherhead. On Tuesday morning she was brought up at the Epsom Police Court, the charge against her being that she had "counselled and procured" the damage done at Mr. Lloyd George's house at Walton Hill. After formal evidence Mrs. Pankhurst was admitted to bail until Wednesday morning, when the case was fully gone into. In the result, Mrs. Pankhurst was committed for trial at the Summer Sessions, bail being refused, as she declined to give any undertaking as to her conduct in the meanwhile.

The Story of Woman Suffrage

In order to place these events in their true perspective it is necessary to turn back over some of the pages of history, and to trace the development of the woman suffrage agitation from its original peaceful condition to the turbulent occurrences of the present day. We need go no further back than the year 1867 when John Stuart Mill moved an amendment to the Franchise Bill, then under discussion, to include women in its provisions. A petition in favour of this amendment was hastily got up, and in a fortnight the names of 1,500 well-known women were obtained. The amendment was, however, defeated, and the "Household Franchise" Bill, for men only, was carried into law.

Seventeen Years of Peaceful Agitation

After this the women set to work in real earnest, and during the next seventeen years a great and successful agitation spread over the whole country. Immense meetings of women were held in all the principal towns, and resolutions claiming enfranchisement were carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. Over 9,000 petitions, bearing in all the names of over 3,000,000 men and women were presented to Parliament, a number far in excess of those that had ever before been collected in favour of any other reform. Pledges were also obtained from a majority of the members of the House of Commons to support woman suffrage in Parliament by their votes when the question arose, and victory seemed only a question of time.

The Betrayal of 1884

In 1884 the Liberal Government introduced the County Franchise Bill, and an amendment was moved to extend the suffrage to women. This amendment was defeated by the direct intervention of the Prime Minister (Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone), who called upon those of his supporters who had given pledges to women to break their pledges and vote against it, threatening that if they did not do so the Government would resign. In consequence many Liberal members "ratted," and Votes for Women was lost. Mr. Gladstone also, in the same year, prevented the passage of a private member's Bill for woman suffrage (in spite of the fact that he had promised not to interfere with the discretion of private members on it) by the simple expedient of adjourning the House over the day put down for its second reading.

Twenty Further Years of Patient Work

It is quite clear now that women ought at that time to have shown by some definite action their resentment against the shameless treatment which had been meted out to them. Instead of doing so, they contented themselves with a mild protest and with a continuance of the methods of propaganda which had up to that time been all that was required. In consequence many earnest women lost hope, and though a monster petition, containing the names of over a quarter of a million women was presented to members of Parliament in 1897, the House of Commons treated the whole question with ridicule and contempt—speeches of the most disgusting and insulting character being received with uproarious mirth.

A New Temper Among Women

Then came the great awakening in 1905, caused by the fact that a few hitherto unknown girls dared to challenge the whole force of the Liberal Party *by asking questions at question time*, and by allowing themselves to be subjected to ridicule, to brutal handling, to ejection, and on one occasion to imprisonment on a false charge rather than give way and allow their question to be ignored. This conduct was at once denounced as hysterical and unwomanly, and the ready lie was invented, which has been repeated over and over again right up to the present day, that it was all part of a Tory device.

Interruptions of Meetings

But the women persisted, and when they found that Cabinet Ministers, to avoid facing the question, contracted a habit of leaving the meeting directly their speeches had been delivered, they put their question into the form of an interruption made during the speech. Similar interruptions by Liberal men of Conservative speakers are approved by Liberal newspapers and jocularly referred to as "the voice"; but when these tactics were employed by women the newspapers united in calling the interruptors "hooligans"; Mr. Lloyd George, in defiance of known fact, referred to them as "hirelings," and the Liberal stewards, with his connivance and in some cases his incitement, treated them with the very grossest brutality. It is a tribute to the spirit with which these women are animated that neither slander nor physical force have turned them from the path of protest.

Imprisonments for Marching to Westminster

Another task which the so-called militant women set before themselves was to obtain interviews with members of the Cabinet, and especially with Mr. Asquith, the principal anti-Suffragist. But an interview was what Mr. Asquith would not on any account permit. Though a handful of men from the Woolwich Arsenal could override his refusal and force him to see them at their time and their convenience, a group of women, including the Mayor of Aldeborough and the leading woman scientist of the country, were given a point-blank refusal, and when they persisted in trying to reach him were met by a huge army of police and beaten back. On this and other occasions a large number of arrests were made, and on a charge of obstructing the police many hundreds of women suffered terms of imprisonment.

The Growing Agitation

The courage and persistence with which women faced these obstacles created a new hope, and recruits poured into their ranks. Some ranged themselves definitely with the new force, others joined the more respectable society which clung to the old methods. Funds, too, came rapidly along—amounting in the seven years ending December, 1912, to over £300,000. Once again meetings were held in every part of the country; women spoke from improvised platforms in the open air, and by dogged determination wore down the rowdy opposition which at first presented itself, and won almost complete unanimity in the crowd in favour of the reform. Demonstrations were held in all the largest halls in London and elsewhere, and unbounded enthusiasm prevailed.

Mr. Gladstone's Challenge

Then came the challenge of Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the Home Secretary, in 1908. It was not enough, he said, that women should show their determination by great meetings indoors; they must hold great demonstrations in the public parks and elsewhere on something of the same scale that the men had done; if they did that their demand could not be resisted. The challenge was at once taken up. A mass meeting was held in Hyde Park in the summer of 1908, which by common consent surpassed several fold any previous demonstration ever held. The computation of the *Times* correspondent was that probably half a million people were present. At every platform the resolution was carried with enthusiasm. This great demonstration did not stand alone. It was followed by monster meetings in other places and by monster processions. One of these, held in London in 1911, took three hours to pass.

The Conciliation Bill

These great demonstrations had no effect in moving Mr. Asquith. He declared himself still an absolute opponent of Woman Suffrage, and for this reason declined even to consider the possibility of bringing in a Government measure. To provide a way of escape out of this dilemma a Committee of M.P.'s was formed, drawn from every part of the House, who constructed a compromise known as the Conciliation Bill, which they believed to be fair to all parties, and which they hoped would pass through the House as a private Member's Bill. The militants were induced to declare a truce, and the second reading was carried, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Lloyd George, by the great majority of 110—299 to 189. But the Government then showed themselves to be not neutral, but hostile to Woman Suffrage. They refused time for the discussion of the further stages, though the House was singularly free of business, and so the Bill dropped.

Mr. Asquith's Pledge for Facilities in 1911

In the following year the Bill, in a slightly modified form, was revived, and passed its second reading by the enormous majority of 167, only 88 being found to vote in opposition, while 255 voted in its favour. Meanwhile nearly 200 local bodies in the United Kingdom passed resolutions urging the Government to grant facilities to the Bill, while not a single local body passed a resolution against it. This time the Government temporised with the situation, and though refusing facilities for subsequent stages in 1911, promised them for 1912. This promise Mr. Asquith said would be fulfilled "in the spirit as well as in the letter." On the strength of this promise militant Suffragists continued to hold their hand from militant action, and even the political anti-Government policy was suspended.

How this Pledge was Broken

It was not long, however, before the spirit of the promise was broken. The essence of the Conciliation Bill lay in its close approximation to the existing male franchise, for though by it only about one million women would have been enfranchised as compared with about 7½ million men already on the register, yet by enfranchising all women householders it would have made the qualifications for the Suffrage practically the same for both sexes. When, therefore, in November, 1911, Mr. Asquith, at the instigation of Mr. Lloyd George, announced his intention of introducing in the succeeding session a Bill to give approximately Manhood Suffrage, the whole basis of the Conciliation Bill was cut away. If passed it would not put men and women on an equal footing; it would stereotype a position of inequality. Equally unsatisfactory for different reasons was Mr. Asquith's new promise to draft the Manhood Suffrage Bill in such a way as to be open to amendment to include women and to leave the decision to the House of Commons. We knew such a promise to be incapable of fulfilment, and did not hesitate to say so.

A Significant Protest

A great militant demonstration of protest was organised by the W.S.P.U. in November, 1911, and again in March, 1912, which, owing to the brutality with which women had been treated in the streets on former occasions, took the form of glass-breaking, several thousand pounds worth of damage being done. Hundreds of women were arrested and imprisoned for long terms of imprisonment for this protest, and Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were also sentenced for conspiring and inciting the women to make it. Unfortunately a considerable section of Suffragists accepted Mr. Asquith's promise as satisfactory, and therefore not only was a sharp line of cleavage introduced into the Suffrage movement, but the protest organised by those who distrusted it was not so clearly understood by the public as it would otherwise have been.

Cabinet Minister's Incitement to Outrage

Meanwhile a very grave statement was made by the Rt. Hon. C. E. H. Hobhouse, a member of the Cabinet. Speaking at Bristol on February 16, 1912, he stated that he was not moved in any way by monster processions or peaceful demonstrations, or by any of the other evidence which had been produced by women. He regarded the burning down of Nottingham Castle by men in 1832 as a much more significant sign of popular uprising. These wicked words have had a very serious effect upon the subsequent trend of militant methods, and on many occasions since that speech acts have been committed along the lines which he indicated. It is impossible to conceive any more criminal utterance than this wanton provocation uttered by a man who should be a responsible statesman.

Mr. Asquith's Breach of Faith

We come now to recent events which are in everybody's recollection. In January of the present year the Government's Franchise Bill went into Committee. In spite of Mr. Asquith's definite promise of Cabinet neutrality he allowed the rumour to go uncontradicted that he and other anti-Suffragist ministers would resign if a Woman Suffrage amendment were carried. He allowed Mr. Redmond to use his name to persuade Irish members to break their pledges to women. Then came the Speaker's ruling; Mr. Asquith's guarantee that the Bill should be so drafted as to be capable of amendment to include women proved utterly worthless; he had not taken the one step necessary of enquiring the Speaker's opinion at the time when the Bill was first introduced. The Bill was scrapped, and in place of the unfulfilled promise (which had served its turn in torpedoing the Conciliation Bill) Mr. Asquith offered the worthless pledge of facilities for a private Member's Bill in the session of 1913. This offer has been rejected by every Suffrage society throughout the country, and denounced as a shameless breach of faith.

An Appeal to Thoughtful Men

The Government have now to face the consequences of their discreditable policy. Upon them rests the responsibility of having blocked the way of reform and of having driven into acts of criminality women—the most peace-loving and orderly section of the community. It is the boast of this country that, unlike its Continental neighbours, it has known when to make concessions to rising public opinion, and so has avoided during the last two centuries the revolutions by which they have been convulsed. Is the present Government going even now to live up to this tradition, or is it going to reverse it? The Press, backed up by a noisy section of the public, are urging a course upon the Government which can only lead to disaster. We call upon all thoughtful men and women who care for the stability and welfare of the State to make their voice heard and to compel the Government to take the only step consistent with the fundamental principles of justice, and so put an end once and for all to the serious and grave crisis with which the country is confronted.

Grave Condition of Miss Lenton

As the result of a single operation of forcible feeding Miss Lenton lies at the present moment seriously ill. She was arrested on Thursday in last week in connection with the destruction of the Kew refreshment pavilion, and remanded in custody. She adopted the hunger strike, and after forty-eight hours' starvation was fed by force. She became so ill that she was almost immediately released. When she reached the house of her friends her condition was highly dangerous as she had pleurisy, and it is feared that septic pneumonia has been caused owing to food having entered the lung. Before leaving the prison she gave an undertaking to appear in court when called upon, but she will not be well enough to do so. Meanwhile, several of the newspapers are commenting on the uncalled-for "clemency" of the Home Secretary!

Revolt Among Women Liberals

Revolt continues to manifest itself in the ranks of the women Liberals. At a meeting of the Rotherhithe Women's Liberal Association on Thursday, February 20, a large number of members, including Miss Anna Martin, ex-president, and Miss Lucy Knowles, treasurer, handed in their resignations, declaring their conviction that the events of the last three years had proved that as long as Mr. Asquith led the Liberal Party it was hopeless for women to look to it for their enfranchisement. Meanwhile, many other Liberal women are remaining in their associations a short time longer in the hope of carrying the whole Federation with them in a definite political strike to continue in effect until women are enfranchised.

Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

The Council of the N.U.W.S.S. met yesterday and to-day to decide the policy to be adopted by that body of Suffragists in the future. The meeting is a private one, but it is understood that an announcement of policy will be made on Friday next at a public meeting in Kensington Town Hall. In view of the present political situation, the decision will be awaited with intense interest not merely by members of the affiliated societies, but by all Suffragists, to whatever society they may belong, who are anxious to see this, the oldest of all the Suffrage societies, bringing some effective pressure to bear upon the Government.

As this issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN *is especially valuable for propaganda we ask our readers to circulate it as widely as possible.*

SHOT - CHECK WHIPCORD

There is every indication that Whipcord Suiting will be in great demand for Spring and early Summer Tailor-mades. Last year diagonal whipcords were all the rage, but for the present Season an entirely new make of whipcord has been produced. These new shot-check whipcords are most effective. They have a lovely sheen, which gives them the effect of rich shot silk.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

We rejoice this week in a considerable influx of members, both women and men, whose names have been enrolled in the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, including adherents in Saskatchewan (Canada), New York, and in Victoria (Australia). It is an inspiration to realise that the universality of the idea of this Fellowship has been grasped by the champions of the new spirit all over the world. Whether as co-ordinated groups or as isolated individuals, all are rendering personal service with the purpose of extending the circulation and the influence of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and of furthering the great Movement for which it stands.

We heartily thank all our readers who have written to tell us that they are adopting the suggestions put forward last week. One friend not only supplies the editors of the local paper in her own country district with a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week, but says that in future she will undertake to send it to the others in all the neighbouring towns.

There are two forms of service to be specially commended this week to the workers everywhere. The first has to do with the exposition of posters. Wherever a group of half-a-dozen readers are gathered together, there they can get a poster displayed by the newsagent who supplies them with their weekly copies of the paper. If the editors are notified of this arrangement at 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., they undertake that in order to ensure safe and prompt delivery a poster shall be sent to the local newsagent direct from headquarters, and they will be glad to receive reports from time to time as to whether these posters are being shown properly and regularly. Indeed, a system of voluntary inspection has been organised, of which more anon.

In the second place, we want to remind all our readers that the advertising season is close at hand. With the month of March comes the commencement of the spring trade. It will be an immense assistance to the development of our paper if all our new readers will follow the example set by the faithful and make it a matter of principle to deal only with those firms who advertise in the columns of our paper. This habit is one that advances our cause in many ways. It adds to the power, prestige, and resources of the paper. It applies pressure of a kind to which the commercial world is sensitive, and it provides an opportunity for arresting the attention of those who deem trade and not politics to be their business, and impresses them with the reality of the Woman's Movement.

The two forms of service mentioned this week are open to all. They are both of great importance. Carried out with the concentration and enthusiasm of the members, results of the greatest value to VOTES FOR WOMEN will be achieved.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Feb. 25, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	163	9	4
Extra on VOTES, per Miss Boulting	0	0	11
Miss Edith Downing	0	2	6
Mrs. Kempster	0	5	0
Miss Young	0	12	0
Madame Jaroschenko	1	0	0
Miss Agnes Murphy.	0	5	0
Miss Minnie Stephen	0	1	6
Miss Annie Somers ..	0	5	0
Miss Kate Noaks ...	0	2	6
Total...............	166	3	9

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"JEAN CHRISTOPHE" AND ENGLISH SUFFRAGETTES

The following passage from the tenth and last volume of Romain Rolland's remarkable *chef d'œuvre*, "Jean Christophe," may be of interest to those who have not happened to read it in the original French. As far as I am able to ascertain, no translation has as yet appeared in English of this last volume. I have made here an almost literal translation.

The author's dedication in terminating this superb work is:—

> "Aux âmes libres—de toutes les nations—
> Qui souffrent, qui luttent, et qui vaincront."

One cannot help feeling that the Women Suffragists of England must have been specially in his mind as he wrote those words.

Constance E. Maud.

(San Remo, February 17, 1913.)

(From "Jean Christophe," Vol. X.)

"In a city such as this (Paris) one learns to admire this new generation of young girls, who, in spite of so many obstacles, set themselves with such honest ardour to the conquest of knowledge and diplomas—knowledge and diplomas which they think will enfranchise them, open up the secrets of the world unknown to them—make them the equals of men. . . . .

"This belief is no doubt illusory and a trifle ridiculous. But progress never travels in the paths we desire; it comes, however, none the less surely by quite other roads. This woman's endeavour will not be in vain. It will result in a womanhood more complete, more human, like that other of olden times. Women will no longer be cut off from the vital questions of the world: a condition which is monstrous and scandalous, for it is intolerable that a woman, however occupied with her domestic duties, should believe she is at liberty to neglect her duties as a citizen.

"Her grandmother of the days of Jeanne d'Arc and Catherine Sforza did not think thus.

"Woman has become emaciated. We have cut her off from air and sun. She is seizing them back from us with determined strength. Ah! the plucky little women! . . . Inevitably, many among those who are struggling to-day will die in the fight, many will go astray. It is an age of crisis. The effort is of too violent a nature for soft measures. When a plant has been for a long time deprived of water, there is always the risk that the first rain scorches it. But what of that! It is the price of all progress. Those that come after will blossom out of these sufferings. The poor little virgin warriors of these days, many of whom will never marry, will be far more fruitful in offspring than the child-bearing matrons their contemporaries, for of them will be born, at the price of their pains, the feminine race of a new classical age."

A NEW NOVEL

"A Fair Field and no Favour," by E. P. Ramsay Sage (Henry J. Drane, price 6s.), dedicated "To the Women of England, by one of Themselves," depicts the position of women in the field of work, as well as in marriage and before the law, some thirty odd years ago, apparently in the seventies. It brings out the necessity for women to be financially independent, and of course for women's franchise. Although things have changed in some respects since the first edition of the book (the Married Women's Property Act, for instance, has been passed), it will doubtless still do good work as an eye-opener in those circles, provincial or otherwise. where these necessities are not yet recognised. There are still many women living the narrow "Vegetable Lives" of the Misses Randall, who are quite ignorant as to the real basis of the up-to-date woman's demand for the vote. Perhaps owing to the fact that the story was written in the earlier days of the movement, the heroine passes through many phases with lightning rapidity. Entering an office without qualifications, she rises to a salary of £700, takes over the business concern, becomes a prominent woman speaker—all in seven years—so that at thirty she is in time for the conventional ending of marriage, having further dropped into a fortune from the traditional miser to whom she had offered sixpence! Her sisters, too, rush into millinery and promptly become the fashion owing to the *chic* of their bonnets! It is bewildering to find Mildred starting her career in the very dawn of High Schools, and to find her after seven years protected from a "motor car." But in spite of these discrepancies the story is quite interesting, and should do good work in the circles above referred to.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who." 1913. Edited by A. J. R. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s. net.)

"Helena Brett's Career." By Desmond Coke. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.)

"Women at Home." March. (London: 3, Southampton Street. Price 6d. net.)

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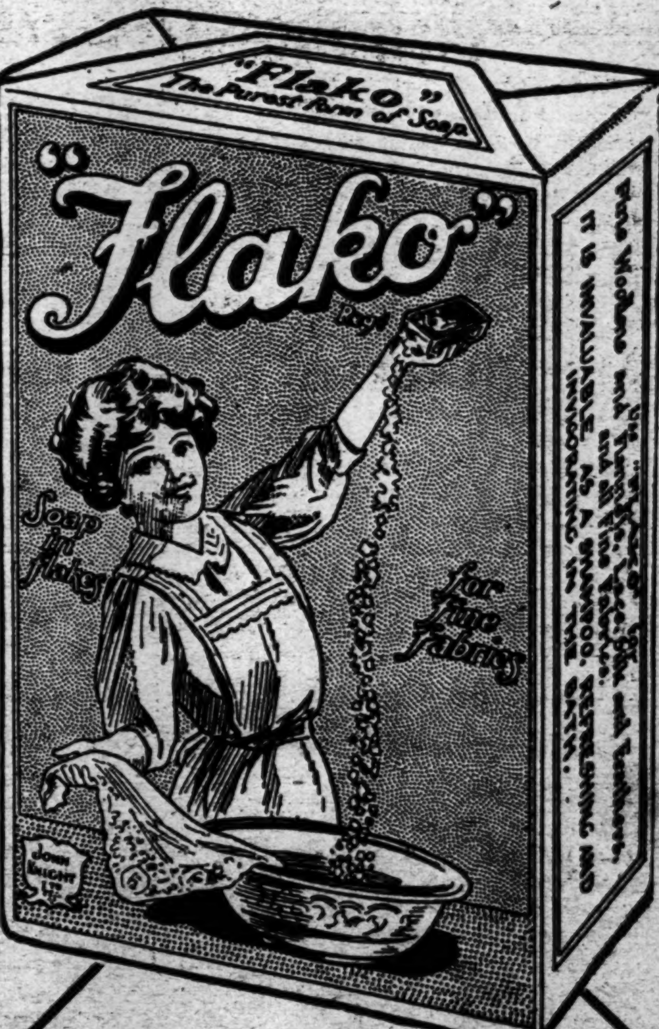
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ARREST OF MRS. PANKHURST

Committed for Trial—Refuses to Give Undertaking—Bail Not Allowed

Mrs. Pankhurst was arrested last Monday afternoon on a warrant charging her as follows:—

"Emmeline Pankhurst.—For having on the 19th day of February, 1913, feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously counselled and procured certain persons, whose names are unknown, to feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously place in a certain building, to wit, a building situate at Walton Heath, in the County of Surrey, certain gunpowder and explosive substances with intent thereby to damage the said building, contrary to the Malicious Injuries to Property Act, 1861."

The arrest was made at Mrs. Pankhurst's flat, in Knightsbridge, by Superintendent Quinn and Chief-Inspector Brien, who took her first to Scotland Yard, and then to Leatherhead, where she was detained for the night. On Tuesday morning she was brought up at Epsom Police Court before Sir William Vincent (Chairman), the Rev. E. W. Northey, Mr. A. Barr, Mr. H. W. Saunders, and Mr. R. Braithwaite.

The proceedings were almost entirely formal. Evidence of arrest was given, and Mr. Lewis, who appeared for the Director of Public Prosecutions, asked for a remand until Wednesday morning, which was granted by the Bench. Bail was applied for, and was granted, on the defendant giving an undertaking not "to incite or take part in any incitement or public meeting until the adjourned hearing."

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26

On Wednesday morning Mrs. Pankhurst surrendered to her bail at the Epsom Police Court. The interest felt in the case was shown not only by the large number of Suffragists wearing the militant colours who were in the court during the proceedings, but also by the crowds of people who lined the road for nearly 200 yards beyond the precincts. Mrs. Pankhurst arrived in a closed motor-car shortly before twelve o'clock, accompanied by her sureties, Mrs. Rosina Pott and Mr. Murray.

Mr. Bodkin, instructed by Mr. Lewis, of the Treasury, appeared for the prosecution, and Mr. Marshall for the defence. Sir William Vincent presided over a bench of ten magistrates.

The Case Opened

The charge, which we give above, was read, and Mr. Bodkin then opened the case, saying Mrs. Pankhurst was charged as an accessory before the fact to the commission of a felony by some persons unknown. It was not necessary where a person was charged as an accessory before the fact that he should have been present at the time the offence was committed.

In this case it was the submission of the prosecution that, from one point of view, in consequence of the very best evidence (statements by the defendant), Mrs. Pankhurst was in that position of accessory in relation to the felony committed on the early morning of the 19th.

Describing the explosion at Walton Heath, Mr. Bodkin said there would be evidence to show that on the evening of February 18 the house was left by the workmen engaged upon it in a safe condition. Shortly before the time that they would reassemble at the house an explosion took place, which did damage to the extent of £400 or £500. It was an explosion of gunpowder, amongst which was mixed a number of rough nails and pieces of metal. That explosion took place near a cupboard, where complete arrangements were subsequently found for carrying out a second explosion. That canister of gunpowder in that cupboard was connected by specially prepared cloth, which, in its turn, was connected with shavings placed round a candle, which had been partially burnt away. In that canister was found a quantity of black powder and a large number of nails and iron missiles.

"Overawing the Government"

"A more abominable and cruel outrage probably has never been conceived," Mr. Bodkin continued. "The fortunate accident, however, of the blowing out of that candle has left merely the wreckage of the house, and, therefore, the section under which this charge arises would appear to be an appropriate one. Now this was an outrage carried out in pursuance of a widely-announced scheme announced by the defendant herself, and carried out unquestionably by those whom she described as her soldiers, in the warfare which she has started against property and against persons with the avowed object of overawing the Government of this country, with a view to furthering the political ends of the party of which the defendant is the head and leader.

"You will hear from the various speeches which she has made in the months of January and February of this year that she herself has been personally engaged in plotting and conspiring to carry out acts of violence in furtherance of that seditious and illegal scheme."

Before reading quotations from the defendant's speeches, Mr. Bodkin said he wished to make this comment: "Either what she had been saying was absolutely true and her admissions and statements, if they bore the natural and ordinary interpretation which he submitted should be put upon them, amounted to admissions of being an accessory before the fact to this outrage at Walton Heath, and to others that had occurred, or, if they were not true, then her statements were the merest bluff made at these meetings for the purpose of continuing in her position as leader of the women who actually carried out the outrages."

Extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's Speeches

Counsel then proceeded to quote extracts from Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches. At Palmer's Green, on January 22, before the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill, she said:

"When the last amendment is defeated we shall decide what is going to be done. There will be no militancy until the last hope is absolutely destroyed. . . but I say that if the amendments are defeated we must be more militant than we have ever been before."

In another speech, at the London Pavilion, on January 27, on which date the Bill was being discussed in the Commons, she said:

"Unless we get a Government measure or unless the so-called Suffragists, Mr. Lloyd-George and Sir Edward Grey, resign, then we take up the sword again, never to lay it down until the enfranchisement of the women of this country is won. I speak seriously because I know what it means. I am in a position of grave responsibility towards the Woman Suffrage movement, and I know it as an individual because I mean to take my part in the front line."

On that occasion, remarked Mr. Bodkin, it was the Chancellor of the Exchequer against whom Mrs. Pankhurst showed particular malevolence. That was the first instance, and there would be other instances of it later. She continued:

"We declare this afternoon that we shall resume guerilla warfare and continue it until this question is settled."

Then, said counsel, followed a very significant reference. Mrs. Pankhurst said:

"I want to say to women who are ready to co-operate in the forthcoming plan of campaign that they will see in the meeting two ladies wearing white rosettes. Those who wish to take part *with me in a particular engagement* [counsel emphasised these last six words] are asked to give their names to those ladies. Its success depends in not making the details public. This is an essential condition of guerilla warfare. Sorties and raids are things which form part of guerilla warfare. They have to be done as surprises to the enemy, and so I wish those who are prepared to take part in the onslaught to give their names to these ladies. It is a very serious business. I hope what we are preparing for may be unnecessary, but, like wise commanders of forces, we are getting ready."

After the Bill was Withdrawn

Mr. Bodkin remarked that a few minutes after that news was given that the Bill had been withdrawn in circumstances which would be within the recollection of the justices. The same evening defendant became more specific in her scheme of militancy. She said:

"I want to say I am going to be militant also. We women are not sentimentalists; we have stern business to do; we have each to do our duty. You are going to do yours, and I am going to do mine. I want to know whether you can help me to make my special bit of militancy successful. I want women to volunteer to come with me. I want you to give in your names to those who are wearing the white rosettes. If my piece of militancy is to succeed it must be done with discretion. We must take the enemy unawares. We must produce the maximum effect with the minimum of effort. One thing we will regard as sacred, and that is human life. As women we say that human life is sacred to us beyond everything else, but we are going to do as much damage to their property as we can."

At a meeting on January 30, said Mr. Bodkin, she spoke of her own position in regard to the movement. She said:

"Placed as I am in the responsible position of the guide of this movement, I say that for all that women have done and all that women are doing, and all that women will do, I take full responsibility. We have said before that there is but one restriction in this warfare, and that is required for the sacredness of human life, and with that sole exception we hold ourselves free to use any and every method, which we think fit, to secure Woman Suffrage. We have got to create a situation in which the ordinary business man will cry out, 'We will not have this state of things lasting any longer.' What do you see in the street now—windows barricaded. Presently we shall have all the windows barricaded; and look at the humour of the situation, shopkeepers barricading themselves against their customers, a thing that will not be able to continue very long."

"Full Personal Responsibility"

An important speech (counsel continued) was made by Mrs. Pankhurst at the London Pavilion on February 4, when she said:

"The fight is going on very well. I want to say here that for all that women have done up to now, and what women will do in the future, short of taking human life, I take full personal responsibility. I want to tell our friends the Government that since I accept that responsibility, so long as I am at liberty I shall be plotting and planning and arranging with my colleagues in this campaign we have undertaken."

At the London Pavilion on February 10 Mrs. Pankhurst said:—

"We are not destroying orchid-houses, cutting telegraph wires, and injuring golf links in order to win the approval of the people who are attacked."

Referring in the same speech to the Home Secretary, she said:—

"His fellow golfers are very angry at what is being done, and particularly angry with me, and since they recognise quite rightly that I am the head and front of the movement, and in many cases have incited people to do these acts, let me answer them so long as I have the chance. This is the answer: It is inevitable they should be angry with the women who do these acts, and particularly angry with the woman who has incited them to do them."

At Croydon, on February 12, she used these words in a speech:—

"Here am I, going about plotting all kinds of things and helping to do all kinds of things."

At Putney, on the 18th, she said:—

"I wonder why I am here, because I ought not to be here if the laws of the country are effectively administered, because I have been breaking the laws myself, and not only inciting and instigating and preparing other people to do the same. I have been prepared during the last few weeks at any time for arrest. I am still urging you to break the law. I want you to do it, but I am above the law. (Laughter.) I am a chartered libertine. I am set above the law."

After the Bomb Incident

After the outrage at Walton Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at Cardiff, and, referring to Mr. Lloyd George, said:—

"We have tried blowing him up to wake his conscience. . . . I want to say this in all seriousness, realising the responsibility of what I am saying. For all that has been done in the past I accept the responsibility. I have advised, I have incited, I have conspired, and I say this, the authorities need not look for the women who have done what they did last night. I accept the responsibility for it. . . . If to-morrow I am arrested for what happened last night, and if I am sent to penal servitude, I shall prove in my own person that punishment, unjustly imposed upon women, who have no voice in making the law, cannot be carried out. If they send me for five, ten, or twenty years I shall not stay. I shall at once hunger strike."

There was some laughter from women at the back of the court, and, turning towards them, Mr. Bodkin said: "I do not know what there is to laugh at."

Mrs. Pankhurst: Indeed, I do not think there is.

Continuing, counsel said that at the Chelsea Town Hall Mrs. Pankhurst said that it was wrong for women who had committed these acts to be punished, while she, who had incited them, was at liberty.

Summing Up

"Upon these statements," said Mr. Bodkin, "I submit there is a question above all others for a jury to determine at the Assize for the county, as to whether these speeches do not amount to admissions by a person who glories in what has been done, and who, to her supporters, disclosed that she is at the bottom of each and all of these outrages which have taken place, and takes credit for them as the leader of the movement. She takes credit for each and every one of these outrages, including the most serious one of all, which has taken place in your division."

Evidence Called

Witnesses were then called for the prosecution.

Henry Elliott, a carter at Manor Lodge, Walton-on-the-Hill, said that at 4.30 a.m. on February 19 he heard the sound of a motor-car. On looking out he saw a car going in the direction of London. Some time afterwards he heard a rumbling noise like that of a big gun.

James Gray, of Walton, a builder's foreman, in charge of the work at the house which was damaged by the outrage, said that on February 18 the building was structurally complete, and the decorations were being carried out. Twelve men were employed that day. When he left in the evening the house was in proper condition. The doors had been hung and were locked at night. When he arrived next morning at 6.30 he found the building damaged to the extent of some £400 or £500. Witness also described the finding of the unexploded bomb.

Mr. Bodkin: Could you see how anybody got into the house that night?—Yes. There was a window to be put in under the stairs. That was about 2ft 6in above the ground level, while there was a little scaffolding 18in off the ground.

Inspector Tudgay, of the Surrey Constabulary, said that on the floor of the servants' bedroom he found a cord slightly scorched, a twisted mass of tin, which was once apparently a candlestick, and a tin basin.

The Inspector then reconstructed the "infernal machine" found in the cupboard.

It consisted of a square tin, on the top of which witness placed a black piece of cloth, which in turn he placed in a candlestick filled with shavings.

The Chairman: It is not charged, is it?—No, I think not, sir. The paper was round it, and it was fastened by the cord. Amongst the shavings, on closer examination, I found this hairpin.

The Chairman: It was not part of the apparatus?—No, I should not think it had anything to do with causing the explosion.

Home Office Inspector

Major Astley Cooper Key, Chief Inspector of Explosives at the Home Office, said he examined the damaged house at 5 p.m. on the 19th. The damage to the servants' bedroom was caused by the explosion of ordinary black gunpowder. He looked at the cupboard on the same floor. It was 36ft away from the bedroom.

Mr. Bodkin: Had the explosion in your opinion been a violent one?—Yes. What I should expect from an explosion of a few pounds of gunpowder.

Would the draught caused by such an explosion be felt, do you think, at a distance of 36ft?—Certainly, when it was confined by the walls of the passage.

Did you afterwards examine the things shown to you by Inspector Tudgay?—Yes. I saw them the same evening at Leatherhead. The canister is the ordinary 5lb tin in which gunpowder is usually sold.

What did you find in the tin?—I found some gunpowder mixed with nails and small percussion caps.

"I may say," added the Inspector, "that the fact of the percussion caps being present with the nails created a very dangerous situation at the time the powder was being conveyed—dangerous to the person who carried it. The rag, in addition to being soaked in oil, had been made into tinder by means of wet gunpowder and would spit sparks. The shavings were soaked in ordinary oil."

Shorthand Notes Produced

A transcript of the shorthand notes of Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches was then produced.

Detective Renshaw, of the special branch at Scotland Yard, who deposed to taking shorthand notes of some of the speeches, was cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst.

What do you mean by the "special branch at Scotland Yard"? she asked.

Witness: The political department.

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the Chairman): What I wanted to ascertain is the fact that there is a political branch of the C.I.D.

The Chairman: Yes; I think you have got that.

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the witness): Is it part of your duty to go to Ulster?

Mr. Bodkin: The Royal Irish Constabulary look after Ulster, as other parts of Ireland.

This closed the case for the prosecution.

Committed for Trial

In reply to the customary caution, Mrs. Pankhurst said: "I do not propose to offer any evidence, sir; I reserve my defence."

The Chairman: You will be committed then to the Assizes of this county, to be held in May, at Guildford.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I would ask, sir, if possible that I might be sent to the Assizes which, I understand, are in progress now. I should like this case to be disposed of as soon as possible.

The Chairman: The grand jury have dealt with all the cases, and I am afraid it is impossible to have it at this Assize.

Mrs. Pankhurst said she could not consent to give an undertaking over so long a period as that. She would be quite prepared to give an undertaking for a week or a fortnight, but could not possibly do so for a longer period, looking at the fact that a new Session of Parliament began in March, and was vitally concerned with the interests of women.

The Chairman advised Mrs. Pankhurst to consider her position a little more.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I want to point out that prison on remand, on the authority of Lord Robert Cecil, is absolutely unfavourable for preparing an adequate defence. I have had experience of that before. Any trial will be a farce so far as I am concerned. If I remain in prison I shall not have a fair trial. I have made up my mind firmly. I shall take a most serious view of the situation and adopt the strike which has been adopted by many other women in prison. If I am allowed to be tried when the Summer Assizes come on it will be a dying woman they will try. I say that in all seriousness.

The Chairman said that unless Mrs. Pankhurst gave a definite undertaking to abstain from criminal offences she would have to be committed for trial without bail.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Sir, I cannot undertake that.

Bail Refused

The Chairman remarked that she was charged with one of a series of disgraceful outrages on Society in defiance of the criminal law. Whatever the motives might be, such methods could not be allowed in a civilised country. If she could see her way to enter into recognisances to abstain from those methods, the Bench would be willing to grant her bail.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I am quite prepared to give that undertaking for a reasonable period, but I cannot do it for the time between now and the next Assizes.

The Chairman: That means you are willing for a short time not to defy the law?

Mrs. Pankhurst: Quite so.

The Chairman: But after a short time you will defy the law?

Mrs. Pankhurst refused to give any promise, and the chairman remarked that he was afraid the Bench had no alternative.

Ultimately Mrs. Pankhurst was committed for trial as stated, bail being refused.

She was then removed in custody.

WHAT MILITANCY COSTS THE NATION

Half-a-Million in Seven Years

According to the *Standard*, £500,000 has been spent over the militant agitation since its commencement in October, 1905. The losses are roughly set under three heads:—

(1) Actual damage caused by wanton outrage.

(2) Heavy expense of preventing and detecting outrage, a sum far larger than most people suspect.

(3) The withdrawal of funds from charitable and other public purposes by women who are supporting the movement.

The following are some of the more recent items:—

Bomb explosion at Chancellor's house, cost £500 to £600.

Regent's Park pavilion burned out, £720.

Kew pavilion burned down, £1,000 (or more).

Golf greens damaged, over £100.

Letters damaged and telegraph wires cut, costs not yet ascertained.

Guarding Cabinet Ministers

Then there is the cost of surveillance. All the parks and public buildings are being watched night and day, to say nothing of pillar boxes; and, continues our contemporary, "At least twenty Ministers of the Crown are under constant surveillance, never less than two detectives being at their immediate call, this involving the employment of five or six men per day, and at times more than that; whilst the watching of their houses in town and country, whether they are in residence or not, employs many more. Motor-cars or taxi-cabs are in frequent requisition for this purpose, and when a Cabinet Minister is going to fulfil a public engagement he is usually preceded and followed by cars containing detectives, with sometimes a scout on a motor-cycle. Taxi-cab drivers have been known to take 15s. or £1 in an evening on this work. In the season these bodyguards of the Ministers cost the country from £250 to £300 a week. The protection of meetings, garden-parties, &c., is another heavy expense. For provincial meetings Metropolitan Police and armies of detectives are brought down, every railway station is watched, and the spaces round the halls are sometimes boarded off into narrow avenues.

Shadowing Militants

"A few years ago, when Mr. Asquith went to Birmingham, the cost of protection is said to have amounted to close on £1,000. Then Scotland Yard has a special department of the Criminal Investigation Department employed solely in watching the movements of well-known militants not only in London, but the provinces. The expense in connection with parliamentary 'raids' during the past seven years has been immense. At times as many as 2,500 to 3,000 police have been on duty, and on one occasion there were certainly not far short of 5,000. This means the bringing up of a large force from the suburbs and outer districts, with expense of fares and keep whilst on duty, at a cost of perhaps hundreds of pounds. Added to this is all the cost of police court and sessions cases, and the maintenance of prisoners convicted or on remand, for on one occasion the whole of the prisoners refused bail and had to be found accommodation in Holloway."

In addition to all this there have been the window-breaking raids (the one in last March cost not less than £10,000) and the money raised by the W.S.P.U. and the money withdrawn from public charities. "All told, it would be a moderate estimate to say that seven years of militancy has cost the country over half a million of money."

PRESS COMMENTS

While we need hardly say that we entirely disapprove of the outrages that have been committed, we cannot but feel that the Liberal and Tory Press, by their comments on these and other phases of the militant campaign, have done much to intensify the present bitterness. Charges are made which show that those who make them altogether fail to understand the psychology of the militant women. It is quite untrue to suggest, as has frequently been suggested in the last few days, that the women are guilty of "potential murder." Mrs. Pankhurst has challenged Mr. Harcourt to prove that the wing of his house, which women were convicted of attempting to fire, was the children's wing; it was, she declares, an uninhabited part of the house. Equally untrue is the suggestion that the women are presuming upon their sex, and pride themselves on their ability to escape punishment because they are women. The truth, rather, is that they pride themselves upon their ability to bear a greater punishment than the Government dare to inflict. Anyone who knows the spirit and temper of the militant women realises that Mr. Pethick Lawrence's letter in Monday's "Times" does not exaggerate; the hunger strike is not a bluff but a grim reality, and the women who suffer it are prepared to pay the last penalty. If it were true, as the "Westminster Gazette" said last Thursday, that the women are defying the Government to treat them as it would treat men, Mr. Pethick Lawrence would not now be writing to the "Times." The authorities released him, as they released the women, because they were not prepared to face the consequences of allowing either a man or a woman to die in prison. It is dangerous, indeed, to press the women beyond the limit they set for themselves. Mr. Massingham writes very unwisely in the "Daily News and Leader" when he declares that the women "do not—will not and cannot—put on the whole armour of devilry and kill some men in order to frighten others into giving them the vote." There is a danger that a sentence of that sort will be taken as a challenge, as militant women took Mr. Hobhouse's incautious reference to the burning of Nottingham Castle. For our part, we believe that a more effective pressure might be brought to bear upon the Government if the Liberal Women's Federation would, as they have been asked to do, call a special conference and devise a way of convincing the Government that they will get no support from any woman until the question of the franchise is settled. It will certainly not be settled by the arrest and imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst, which may only render the women still more desperate. — **Christian Commonwealth.**

A hairpin and a hatpin were found in the door of a cupboard where one of the "infernal machines" had been placed, obviously having been used to open the door. Now the sleuth-like mind of the British public will readily grasp the deduction that as neither doctors, nor Welsh curates, nor English landlords, nor even licensed victuallers, habitually use hairpins, they could not be the guilty parties.

We are even forced to go a further step in what Sir Arthur Conan Doyle would call the relentless chain of our deductions.

Both hairpins and hatpins are articles of attire only worn by women. Therefore there is ground for saying that women were concerned in placing these bombs in the house about to be leased by Sir George Riddell to Mr. Lloyd George. . . . Is it possible that they do not trust the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Hardly, we should think. And yet we are bound to say that they have hinted so much; indeed, they have bluntly said that they would not give sixpence for Mr. Lloyd George's promises. This only shows how illogical and capricious these women suffragists are.—**Morning Post, Feb. 20.**

These mad women do not understand England or the English temper. They imagine that they can get by terrorism what they have failed to get by argument. They are wrong. They may terrorise some of their victims, but the great mass of the nation will be absolutely unmoved by their outrages.—**The Star.**

Again, militancy is bringing the law into contempt. The police are not trying very hard to catch the culprits, and we cannot blame them; for the release of prisoners after a day or two in gaol simply makes fools of their captors. . . . It is, therefore, becoming necessary in the national interest to stop militancy. But how? Ordinary imprisonment is of no use; it is negatived every time by the cheap martyrdom of the hunger-strike. The public sense of chivalry is still too strong to allow of whipping and suchlike drastic measures. There is something to be said for imposing heavy fines without the option of gaol; something, also, for the release of hunger-strikers on licence, with instructions to come back and have another hunger-strike when they feel better. For our own part, we adhere to the view that deportation would probably be the most effective remedy of all.—**Sheffield Daily Telegraph.**

We are extremely sorry to see the methods that are being resorted to by certain of the women who have the same object in view. But having said this we think Ministers cannot escape responsibility for having raised hopes which were not fulfilled on this question.—**Newcastle Chronicle.**

Caught in their own toils, the Government stand by helplessly while these creatures work their own sweet will, in their own sweet way, upon a civilised community, a community, moreover, which pays taxes nominally in return for protection, not only against foreigners, but against malefactors at home.—**The Commentator.**

The powers that be have plucked up courage to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst, or in a fit of desperation they have seen the necessity of doing something that will look more or less dramatic.

One thing is quite certain. Such arrests will do nothing to curb the militant spirit and movement. Militant tactics are regarded from different points of view, according to temperaments and preferences. But there is absolutely no room for doubt as to the intensity and grit of the militants themselves. They would go to the stake for their ideals. . . . The militants are urged in divers tones to be constitutional. But they cannot be constitutional. Women are outside the Constitution. Constitutionally they are outcasts. The plain and simple way to make them constitutional is to give them the vote. . . . The Briton was not always exactly constitutional. When kings and aristocrats themselves stood in the way of his heart's desire he acted in pretty much the same spirit as that in which the militant women are acting to-day.

The contemporary male Briton idolises and idealises those bygone militants. He wants everything alive to be constitutional; but he adores militants provided they have been dead for a couple of hundred years.

The trouble is that militants cannot die and be heroic unless first of all they live and fight.—**Daily Herald, Feb. 25.**

FIRST CATCH YOUR HARE!

It remains to say that the nation will have this affair treated as an attack on its peace and security, and not as an opportunity for the criminals to advertise their own opinions and the weakness of the Government. The perpetrators have to be found; and when found to abide the sentence of the law, like any other assailants of the order of a civilised State.—**Daily Telegraph.**

BENEFACTORS—NOT CRIMINALS

However much the wanton act of those who destroyed the tea-house at Kew Gardens may be deplored, very little sorrow will be felt by those who knew the building at its loss. It was a mean and insignificant structure—one utterly unworthy of the beautiful situation it occupied.—**Daily Telegraph.**

COMING TO THE POINT

The following emphatic statement of the position was given in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* last Wednesday:—

Sir,—Everyone seems to agree upon the necessity of putting a stop to Suffragist outrages; but no one seems certain how to do so. There are two, and only two, ways in which this can be done. Both will be effectual:

1. Kill every woman in the United Kingdom.
2. Give women the vote.—Yours truly,

BERTHA BREWSTER.

THE CASE OF MISS LENTON

Serious Result of Forcible Feeding—Home Office Responsibility

Miss Lenton has been released from Holloway Gaol in a serious condition of health, after being forcible fed.

It will be remembered that Miss Lenton was one of the two Suffragists arrested last week in connection with the burning of the Kew tea-house. She was brought up in Richmond Police Court on Thursday in last week (February 20) and remanded in custody until Thursday in this week, bail being refused. As a protest against not being allowed bail Miss Lenton at once started the hunger strike. On Saturday morning she was perfectly well in health; during the day she was forcibly fed once, and became so ill that shortly afterwards she was hurriedly released and taken to the house of a friend, where she has been lying seriously ill ever since.

Caused by Forcible Feeding

There is little doubt that the origin of her illness is to be found in the forcible feeding to which she was subjected against her will. She is suffering from pleurisy and, it is feared, from septic pneumonia as well, there being every sign of the feeding tube or the food having entered the trachea.

Miss Lenton's Account

Miss Lenton's own statement is that—"The whole time the tube was really in I was coughing violently and continuously, and made a queer noise in breathing. A voice said something I did not catch, to which a man's voice answered, 'Yes, go on.' Then something was poured in again. I was coughing ever so much meanwhile. Then they took out the tube, untied me, and I got up, but fell against the wall. I began to be in pain from the waist upwards.

"The pain became intense. I rang the bell, and first one doctor came and examined my chest, warning me not to sit up. He told the wardress to bring blankets and a hot-water bottle, which they did. The doctor then went away, and came back and said he was authorised to tell me I should be released as soon as possible if I promised to appear at the Police Court, Richmond, on the following Thursday. I said I would, but was not asked to sign any paper.

"During the following two hours they gave me, and I took, bovril with brandy and milk with brandy. The doctor also gave me a thirst injection, saying it was necessary to enable me to stand the journey. They carried me in a chair to the taxi, and the doctor came all the way with the wardress to my friend's house."

Miss Lenton is, of course, far too ill to appear at her trial this week, and the doctors take a very grave view of her illness.

Why Was She Released?

In view of what has occurred, the indignation in the Press over Miss Lenton's release is a revelation of the prevailing ignorance as to the dangers of forcible feeding. The *Standard* in its leading article of last Wednesday considers that Miss Lenton was a case for "medical treatment in the prison infirmary," and blames the Home Secretary for releasing her. We who know the facts about forcible feeding in prison are well aware of the Home Secretary's reasons for not wishing to retain Miss Lenton in the prison infirmary. This is not by any means the first time that the Suffragist victims of forcible feeding have been released from prison because the Government did not wish to have their death upon its hands.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1913.

IF MR. ASQUITH WERE A STRONG MAN

A grave crisis confronts Mr. Asquith as the responsible head of the State. He is faced with a situation which demands not merely intellectual understanding, but profound judgment and fearless courage. He has to consider not his personal predilections, but his duty to his Sovereign and to the Nation.

Hitherto he has treated the question of the enfranchisement of women with a disdainful contempt; in his view it was not a matter on which the Cabinet need make up its mind. If only sufficient delay could be interposed the agitation would die down, and women would learn once more to be content with the position which had satisfied their mothers and their mothers' mothers before them.

From this comfortable complacency Mr. Asquith has been roused by militancy which has steadily extended and intensified until it has reached the point at which the very serious events of the past fortnight have taken place. No one, least of all Mr. Asquith, the head of the Government, can wish these events to continue; and yet no one can doubt that they will be continued unless some step be taken by the Government to bring them to an end.

The question which confronts Mr. Asquith is what that step shall be. He is not without counsellors in the matter. Apart from his private friends and his colleagues in the Ministry, the Press have deluged him with advice both of their own and from numerous correspondents. He has been exhorted to consider "neither the sex nor the motive" of the offenders, but to bring to bear upon them the "full rigour of the law"; he has been urged, in the event of their adopting the hunger strike, to abandon the practice of releasing them when at the point of death, and instead to allow them to die in prison. He has been invited to carry into law special coercion acts rendering them liable to flogging or torture or deportation, while even authoritative sources have recommended new legislation enabling him to attack the funds of societies or individuals and to subject ordinary prisoners on release to the regulations of ticket of leave. All these recommendations can be summed up in a single phrase: "Coercion, more coercion, still more coercion."

If this agitation rested (as its enemies profess to think) upon no more sure foundation than the wild vapourings of a few hysterical men and women, this plan of meeting it would no doubt succeed; but then it would have succeeded long ago, and the agitation would have been at an end. Coercion has been tried and it has failed, more coercion has been tried, and it has not merely failed, but it has swelled the ranks of the agitators and fanned their indignation to a hotter flame.

And why? Because the movement rests upon the firm basis of widespread discontent, because women are become conscious to-day of their right to citizenship, because they recognise that their peaceful demonstrations have been treated as of no account, and that they have been tricked and humbugged by politicians long enough. Because also the bulk of the men of this country are with them in their demand for enfranchisement. In spite of the wanton campaign of incitement by which the Press is trying to egg them on to maltreat the Suffragists, to break up their meetings, to insult and mob them in the streets, the decent, honest, sober, justice-loving men of the country are asking with increasing insistence these two questions: "Why should not women who possess the qualifications and bear the responsibilities which entitle men to vote receive the Parliamentary franchise? How can Mr. Asquith, whose own salary is in part extracted from the pockets of women, deny them that right to control the taxes which is a fundamental part of the Liberal creed?"

It is for these reasons that coercion has not succeeded in the past, and it is for these reasons that it cannot succeed in the future.

Mr. Asquith may order the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, but we do not so underrate his intelligence as to imagine that he thinks this step will be effective in bringing the disorder to an end. Similar steps have been taken in the past with practically no effect. Whatever on this occasion be the result of her trial, whatever variations of treatment may be administered to her (if she be sentenced), or to other Suffragist prisoners who may be caught red-handed in acts of violence, whatever further acts of repression be attempted either under the existing law or under special new coercion legislation, Mr Asquith must realise by this time that they will not achieve their purpose. He must see that the agitation will go on becoming daily more serious and menacing.

Knowing this, as he must do, the weakest course possible for him is to continue to pursue from pure inertia a policy which he recognises to be utterly futile, and which is at the same time fraught with dire consequences to the well-being of the State. Better far would it be for him to retire from his position and leave others to adopt the one solution to the problem which his own obstinacy prevents him from carrying into effect.

But if he were really a strong man, he would adopt neither of these alternatives. He would refuse to be bound by the mistakes of his past judgment. Eschewing the example of Lord North, who continued in his course of folly to the end, he would range himself with Peel and Gladstone, who knew when the time had come for them to bow to the will of the people.

Such a course would not be yielding to violence or intimidation, it would be yielding to the public opinion which has prevented the Militant Suffrage agitation from being snuffed out by coercion. It would be the course dictated by wisdom and courage. For it is the weak man who mistakes obstinacy for steadfastness of purpose; while the strong man is not ashamed to learn from his experience of life to correct the mistakes which he has made in the past.

THE COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS AND THE WOMEN'S VOTE

By A Worker in Local Government

The approach of the County Council Elections makes it important that women electors should realise the rights they possess, so that they may use them unfalteringly and efficiently. These rights are, it is true, limited to the administration of laws over which they have no control, except through the powers bestowed upon County Councils to promote Bills in Parliament, but still they are considerable, and affect the welfare and comfort of the community in every department of daily life. It is one of the favourite arguments of anti-Suffragists against the enfranchisement of women that women do not use the vote which they already possess, a statement based on an impression not verified by any conclusive facts. It is true that, on an average, only about 50 per cent. of municipal electors, men and women, record their votes, but we have no exhaustive returns to show the proportion of women. Where such have been made they rather tend to prove that men and women vote in about equal proportions. It is to be regretted that municipal voters should be so apathetic, but we must not blame them too severely when we consider the diversity of the functions of local councils and the bewildering manner in which they overlap.

There are, however, questions which obviously affect all classes of the community, such as public health, housing, the laws relating to midwives, adulteration of food, the licensing of music-halls and places of entertainment, and above all, education, which concerns every family in the country, and the fact cannot be too strongly emphasised that women, by their vote, have a voice in this question of national importance. County Councils are the education authority for the whole kingdom, subject, of course, to certain limitations imposed by the Board of Education, and to the exclusion of private or endowed schools which need no financial grant. Candidates make so many promises that they cannot possibly fulfil them all; still, where their electors show a serious determination, they will be forced to use their votes on the Council in the desired direction. Electors must therefore remember that the training of the rising generation is in their hands, and that it is futile merely to grumble when they have a voice in the selection of those who are entrusted with such serious duties. Housing, health, and all similar questions which come under the control of the Municipal Councils are certainly of vital interest to the community, but education decides the future development of the nation.

A Second-class Citizen

Now it is easy to tell women vaguely how far-reaching are their rights and to blame them for their apathy, but has anything ever been done to make it possible for them to vote intelligently and translate principles into action? A working woman whose whole time is occupied with earning her living may be dissatisfied with the schooling of her children, or the treatment in infectious hospitals or asylums, but without guidance she cannot know how such grievances can be remedied, and such guidance is not given by political associations, which work only for party interests. From a party point of view the woman ratepayer is valueless, so frequently does not even receive a polling card, or the visit of a canvasser, because she is not on the Parliamentary register, which gets the first attention. She is a second class citizen, and will remain so until she becomes a full-fledged Parliamentary elector. What wonder then if she does not vote? Something could, however, even now be done if those women who are engaged in social work would organise united action by women electors to press their special needs, thus making the woman's vote an important factor which no Municipal Council could ignore.

Such organisation would have a two-fold value. It would enhance the importance of women in the eyes of their male fellow citizens, and it would awaken in women the conviction that the right to administer laws is comparatively valueless unless accompanied by the right to vote for the laws which have to be administered. A woman's candidature works beneficially in this direction. On such occasions women voters are visited, meetings are held to rouse their interest; the woman candidate enters into their special requirements, and if elected uses her woman's knowledge on their behalf. This is probably one reason why political agents look coldly on women candidates. They divert public attention from the party shibboleths by which they try to hypnotise electors into obedience to the party whip, which is as inexorable in the County Council as in the House of Commons. The County Council is, to a great extent, looked on as a stepping-stone to Parliament, consequently questions are considered not on their merits, but as they affect party politics, and the connection of ideas is sometimes puzzling to the innocent mind. Those, for instance, who are in favour of Welsh Disestablishment are expected to support Municipal trams, while Tariff Reformers must needs wax enthusiastic over motor omnibuses. At one election I am told that baby clinics was the bone of contention between Liberals and Conservatives! Surely it is time that women electors should shake off the trammels of party and set an example of judging these important questions in the light of common sense.

No Political Value

It has been repeatedly pointed out that this tyranny of the political caucus is also responsible for the shortage of women candidates, but as this shortage is continually quoted by anti-Suffragists as a proof of the indifference of women to public interests, it may not be superfluous to state the facts once more.

Political associations, to which, as a rule, women are not admitted, select the candidates for Municipal Councils, and use the party machinery to secure their election. If they adopt a woman she has a chance of being elected; if, as is usually the case, they refuse to do so because she has no political value, her failure is almost certain, as she has the full power of both political parties against her, and moreover the expense is generally prohibitive. How can we expect women to come forward in large numbers under such conditions?

To sum up. Local Government has been described as the housekeeping of the nation, and for this reason it presents peculiar difficulties. In a household you do not expect the gardener to understand the duties of a lady's maid, or vice versa, though both may be quite able to form an opinion on the minimum wage or National Insurance. I have dwelt in detail on the importance of the rights already possessed by women, but from the very nature of these rights it is obvious that they are in no sense a substitute for full political enfranchisement. These duties, like all other duties, ought to be conscientiously performed, but they only touch one side of life, and must remain ineffective without the complete privileges of citizenship.

THE MOTHER-CREATURE AT BAY

(The following letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence appeared in the "Pall Mall Gazette" on Wednesday, February 26.)

Dear Sir,—In every revolt there are at least two points of view that need to be considered by the thinking public. In dealing with the present outbreak of the militant Suffragists you have presented one point of view—that of the outraged authorities. Will you allow me to speak from the other point of view—that of an outraged sense of justice?

You condemn militancy, which you say "is resented by every thinking person," but you do not recognise that *every other alternative excepting militancy has been taken away from women*, who are steadfast in their determination rather to struggle for their liberty than to submit to their exclusion from citizenship. It must be remembered that Suffragists have carried out the greatest constitutional campaign ever waged in the history of this country for any social reform without the aid of the political Press or of the political party leaders.

What Has been done Legally

It can be shown by available statistics that Suffragists have held more meetings during the last five years than all the other political parties put together. As a matter of fact, it would be impossible to hold greater out-door demonstrations than have been held. For, to get together greater concourses of people than those that have been gathered in Hyde Park (on one occasion the crowd was estimated by the *Times* to number half a million to three-quarters of a million people) would be incompatible with public safety. To organise greater processions than those that have marched through the streets of London numbering fifty thousand to sixty thousand persons is not feasible because (as we are informed by the police) the limit of disorganisation in the traffic of London has been reached.

It would be impossible and useless to send greater Petitions to Parliament than those that have been sent comprising millions of signatures. There is no point in converting more members of Parliament, as over two-thirds of the House of Commons have pledged themselves in favour of the Reform, though they can always find some excuse for breaking their pledges.

Everything that can be done in the way of constitutional agitation has been done for over fifty years, and, for the last five years especially, all records in educational propaganda have been broken. The only political result of it all is a sequence of Parliamentary tricks and betrayals which in the words of Lord Robert Cecil would have driven men not "to a casual outrage," but to an "insurrection."

Furthermore, much legislation affecting women both in their home life, in their industrial life, and in their economic life, which, in their voteless condition, they have keenly resented, has been passed in the very teeth of this agitation. For example, they have been recently forced to contribute to the payment of salaries to over 600 members of Parliament who are not in any way responsible to them, and do not even profess to represent their interests or their wishes.

And a poll tax is exacted from them under the Insurance Act which, apart from pressing hardly upon them in many details (as in many details it presses hardly upon men), is in its main conception and purpose fundamentally unjust to women.

What Ministers Have Said

Added to this indirect provocation has been the direct incitement to militancy on the part of responsible Cabinet Ministers, beginning in 1906 with the often-quoted advice of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman "to keep on pestering," emphasised by Mr. Herbert Gladstone when he said:—

> Political dynamics are far more important than political argument. Men have learnt their lesson, and know the necessity for establishing that "force majeure" which actuates and arms a Government for effective work. This is the task before the supporters of this great movement.

Women have been jeered at by Lord Haldane for their—

> Policy of pinpricks, and have been told that they should take to "sterner measures."

They have been taunted by Mr. John Burns with—

> Scratching at the door which men have forced open.

Last of all, they have been told in the recent speech made by Mr. Hobhouse in Bristol—

> That in the case of the Suffrage demand there has not been the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or the Hyde Park Railings in 1867.

"The Anger of the Bully"

It may be argued that these incitements were never intended to be taken seriously, and acted upon. In that case, they were taunts levelled at women's dislike and avoidance of violence. And the anger of the Government whose spokesmen these men are, and the anger of those who from party instincts or from the instincts of sex dominance, support them, is the anger of the bully who is taken by surprise when his victim unexpectedly shows fight

The authorities who deemed women weak have combined in ruthlessly driving them to the wall. And now women, with their backs against the wall, have turned, and are defying the authorities in the name of outraged human nature. They have all the courage and all the final desperation of the mother-creature at bay.

Yes, that is the secret of the woman's movement—the dawning in the consciousness of women of the sense of race-motherhood and of the corresponding sense of human dignity which expresses itself in the determination to be included in the human commonwealth as a sovereign half of a sovereign people.

The tragic thing is that men, instead of welcoming this new passion of race-motherhood in women, should drive it to the defensive. It is a sight to make gods and angels weep—the pioneer womanhood of the future, so forsaken yet so indomitable, doing desperate battle for her race-motherhood rights against all the organised powers of physical force!

Of the unthinking crowd that hurl their denunciation at her, it must be pleaded, as it was for men of another race, "they know not what they do."

Let there be no mistake. A new consciousness, a new idea, once it has become wrought into one substance with the human will, cannot be suppressed. There was a time when women's emancipation was a question of argument, when the only appeal put forward on its behalf was the appeal to reason. To that appeal the country was deaf.

Now it is a battle between the inspired human will and the "old régime."

The divine right of the male electorate is a theory similar to the old theory of the divine right of kings, which was quite logical and found acceptance for centuries. But in the face of a new race-consciousness wedded to indomitable will the theory ceased to correspond with the fact, just as the theory of the divine right of the male electorate ceases to correspond with the actualities of the woman's movement to-day. The vote of men cannot coerce women. No political party, however strengthened by the vote of the male electorate, can force upon an awakened womanhood a system of government without consent.

The present situation is deplorable. It threatens to become worse. It possesses all the elements of a great tragedy. Must the fate work itself out to the bitter end? Must the sacrifice of human and material substance, so costly to both sides, be paid to its uttermost farthing?

It is not too late for some leading voice to speak, for some saviour of the people with the instincts for statecraft to step in and persuade the country as a whole that the time has come for a reasonable compliance with the reasonable demand of women that they shall be the fellow-citizens of men in common service to the State.

The Only Way

That is the only way to put an end to militancy. And it is the right way. Because the only strength of militancy is the justice of the Cause behind it. But for that it would have been stamped out long ago. But for that it could be stamped out to-day.

What those responsible for the government of the country lamentably fail to see and understand is that they are up against a force that has all the spiritual reinforcement of a new religious faith. And that is a force against which repression cannot hope to prevail.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE MILITANT AGITATION

Widespread Discussion in the Press—Opinions of Eminent Men and Women—Coercion or Legislation?—The Hunger Strike and How to Deal with it

Public attention has been focussed all the week upon the activities of the militant Suffragists. The difficulties of a situation in which the principal actors successfully set at defiance both the law and the penal code have been universally discussed, and a mass of suggestions have been made in the Press and elsewhere as to the best way of dealing with lawbreakers who, by adopting the hunger-strike, can terminate their own sentences at will. In a growing minority of instances, the solution suggested is the simple one—Give women the vote. Those others who do not recognise with us that militancy is an expression of an intolerable sense of injustice, and that the only way to stop it is to remove the injustice, make suggestions that may be roughly grouped as follows:—(1) The extension of the ticket-of-leave system, whereby the hunger-striker may be released when life is endangered, and imprisoned again as soon as she is fit to go through it again. (2) The imposition of fines without the option of imprisonment. (3) The placing of food within reach of the prisoner, and leaving her to starve to death unless she takes it voluntarily. (4) Deportation of the offenders. There are, of course, the usual hysterical correspondents of the daily papers who shriek for the use of the birch and the ducking-stool, but, with a few notable exceptions, such as Mr. Cutcliffe Hyne, who advocates the latter, these curious derelicts of the Dark Ages prefer to be anonymous, and need not be further considered here.

"GIVE THEM THE VOTE"

Several of the newspapers have been asking well-known men and women how they would deal with the problem of the militant Suffragists. The following are a few of the answers which really go to the root of the matter:—

Miss May Sinclair (in the *Daily Mirror*):—

No solution occurs to me except giving women the vote.

Sir Thomas Barclay (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):

"The obvious answer is that if an Act of Parliament giving the women the same franchise as men were passed violence would cease. The anti-Suffragists missed their chance when they opposed the Conciliation Bill. The only course now open seems to be to grant political equality. Down to the present the women have been singularly humane and moderate, and though they are now resorting to violence, no life has thus far been endangered. I trust they will remain true to their principle of respecting human life, and thus set an example to men who, under similar provocation, have seldom exercised such self-restraint."

Sir Arthur Pinero (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):

"Treat the women and their cause fairly and liberally."

Mr. George Bernard Shaw (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):

"I should give the women the vote."

Mrs. Fawcett, in a Press interview last Monday, said: "I can think of only one thing which, as far as I can see or suggest, would stop militancy. That is, to grant women the vote." And in a letter to the *Times* of February 25, she wrote: "As the Government have by their mishandling of the whole subject of woman suffrage created a situation which has brought the administration of the law into contempt, I do not see why suffragists should make suggestions to help them out of their difficulty."

LETTERS IN THE PRESS

In the Press some excellent letters have appeared, offering the same solution as the only one. We select one of these, from the *Manchester Guardian* of February 24, in which Miss Maud R. R. Mackenzie, after quoting Mr. Herbert Samuel, who said recently that for Parliament to grant the vote now "would put a premium on disturbances and offer an invitation to crime," goes on to say:

"In view of this expression of opinion from a Cabinet Minister it is interesting to compare the diametrically opposite view of Lord Morley with regard to far more serious outrages in India in the House of Commons on June 6, 1909:—'Some in this country lean to the opinion—and it is excusable—that riots ought to suspend all suggestions and talk of reform. His Majesty's Government considered this view, and in the end they took very determinedly the opposite view. They held that to draw back on account of local and sporadic disturbances, however, serious, anxious, and troublesome they might be, would have been a really grave humiliation . . . and would have been taken as a sign of nervousness, trepidation, and fear that is always unworthy in any Government.' A statesmanlike dealing with the question of women's suffrage would have averted all 'outrages,' and at the present time the passing of a Government measure would be the signal for their cessation."

TWO PROVINCIAL PRESS OPINIONS

The *Nottingham Guardian* is to be congratulated on the following courageous expression of opinion in its leading article of February 21:—

"It is easy to talk about severe punishment, and so on, but experience shows that when there are political objects to be attained severe punishment only defeats its own ends. This has been proved over and over again. The suffragists may be right or wrong. But they are fully convinced of the justice of their cause, and of the necessity for the measures they are taking to gain their ends. And unless experience is all at fault severe punishment will not stop them. It is all very deplorable, but the root of the mischief lies in the fact that neither the Government nor the House of Commons has treated the subject of votes for women on its merits. Party politicians have played with the question instead of honestly facing it."

Similarly, the *Halifax Daily Guardian* (February 19) says:—

"The problem is, what will the authorities do? They tried fines, and the result has been nil. They have tried imprisonment, and the hunger-strike has followed. Mrs. Pankhurst goes one further still. If the hunger-strike be not successful, there is still a further way of securing release, and 'if I drop out a hundred more will take my place.' We believe this is a mere statement of simple fact, but it increases rather than diminishes the work which the authorities have to do. The Executive Government are in difficulties indeed, and it is not easy to see the best way out, apart from conceding the women's claims!"

"RELEASE HER ON A TICKET-OF-LEAVE"

The extension of the ticket-of-leave system to the Suffragist hunger-striker was recommended in the *Morning Post* of February 22 by "A Legal Correspondent," who wrote: "It seems to me that there is a common-sensible way out of this difficulty. Let the hunger-striker continue her fast for forty-eight hours (that would not endanger life), and then release her on a ticket-of-leave, the conditions of which could be made extremely onerous—for example, a personal reporting of herself twice a day at a police-station. The hunger-striker would probably break the conditions, and would be liable to re-arrest under the original committal. Perhaps another 'hunger-strike' would follow. It could be dealt with in just the same way. The offender would thus find herself under the constant surveillance of the law, subjected to experiences which would be uncomfortable, but not heroic. 'Martyrdom' on such an instalment plan would probably break down the most robust faith in arson as a weapon of agitation. If the offender took the way out of her difficulties of leaving the country, that would be a solution of the problem which most people would welcome, for there is no vindictive wish to punish these folk; but there is a stern necessity to deter them from further outrages."

The *Morning Post*, in its leader, commented thus on the above suggestion: "It would require a very stout spirit to face for some months or years an existence composed of hungry days in prison broken by short intervals of restricted freedom for the purpose of recuperating from the sufferings of the self-imposed fast."

"WITHOUT THE OPTION OF IMPRISONMENT"

The Legal Correspondent of the *Morning Post* further proposed the "revival in the Law Courts of the old system of exacting money penalties in requital for crime," and the *Daily Chronicle* on February 20 enlarges thus on the advantages of imposing fines "without the option of imprisonment":—

"The method which we suggest has this great merit. It enables the State to punish the organisers rather than their tools. And it does not worsen the lot of honest spontaneous political martyrdom, such as conscientious individuals are sometimes driven to. What it hits is organised martyrdom, with money behind it. Martyrdom of this kind is not bona-fide; it is simply a political dodge, which any rich organisation can practise, and which for various reasons is most undesirable, and ought to be ruled out of decent political warfare, just as we rule poisoned or explosive bullets out of the battlefield. When it is courted by crimes such as that committed at Mr. Lloyd George's house, or those attempted at Nuneham and the Dublin Theatre Royal, it is quite time legislation were introduced to make it less absurdly cheap and easy than at present it undoubtedly is."

"Pay, Pay, Pay!"

Last Sunday's *Observer* took the same view, that the law might be strengthened with regard to the levying of fines, and the *Globe* of February 20 said: "There should be no difficulty in making the funds of every society guilty of complicity in these outrages liable to confiscation. If imprisonment has no terrors for the offenders it is possible that heavy fines rigorously exacted from individuals, and not to be evaded either by deeds of gift or resort to the Bankruptcy Court, would prove very efficient. If nothing else will do, exile would certainly prove effective, and we are sure that it would be heartily approved by all reasonable people of both sexes. The thing has gone too far now to be treated any longer as a sort of joke, and an end must and shall be put to it."

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says:—

The Home Office is very closely occupied with the militant outrages, and every effort is being made to cope with the situation. The attitude of the authorities may be said to be as follows. They are resorting to forcible feeding, and will continue to resort to it so long as it does not involve any danger to life. In the event, however, of any such danger becoming apparent the Home Office will continue to order the release of the prisoner. In this attitude they have the approval of the prison doctors concerned. So far as the immediate future is concerned, one must not exclude the possibility of special legislation being brought forward at the beginning of the session to give the authorities fuller power to deal with these outrages. No information is yet forthcoming as to the lines which this will follow, but possibly it may mean an extension of the number of releases on licence, and power in certain cases to impose fines which may be levied by distress.

Sir Robert Anderson (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):

"No crime of any kind can be suppressed except by 'coercive Acts' properly administered; and the existing criminal law only needs to be enforced to enable us to deal with the particular crimes which are now *sub judice*. But just because they are *sub judice* I cannot speak more definitely. Upon the general question I would remark that organised crime is easily detected and, therefore, easily suppressed. The outrage campaign of Irish Fenianism never made headway, except at times when the Government of the day was criminally apathetic. And the dynamite campaign—the most formidable of the conspiracies with which I have had to do—was promptly suppressed by Sir William Harcourt's drastic Coercion Act, an Act which is still in force. But if public opinion will not sanction treating these ladies as the dynamiters and Fenians were treated, legislation becomes necessary. It would be idle for me, however, to formulate here a *projet de loi* to meet the case. If a reform I have long advocated were introduced into our stupid criminal code, and a criminal was always required, as part of his sentence, to compensate the person injured by his crime, a window-breaking crusade would cost the Suffragettes as much as it now costs the shopkeepers. And the law of conspiracy, enlarged if necessary, would bring into the net those whose names would suffice to cover the damage."

"LET THEM STARVE"

The *Christian Commonwealth*, who invited correspondence on the best way of treating the hunger-strikers, announces that in the majority of the replies received the policy of placing plenty of food before the prisoners and leaving them to starve was advocated. In the course of Press interviews the following opinions were elicited:—

Mr. A. W. Gamage:—The tactics of the militant suffragists are serious alike in the loss they involve and the uneasiness and unrest they cause. All these outrages must receive their due reward. Let the law take its course. I do not think that one in six would persist in the 'hunger strike.' I really think that some tempting fare—such as steak and onions—would break down resistance. In any case, the sentence must be served."

Sir Arthur Markham (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):

"I should put the food before them, and if they would not eat it, let them die."

Mr. Eustace Miles:—"I should put before each suffragist a tempting meal, and leave it with her. I should take care that it was sufficient and nourishing, and would even go to the extent of having it certified as such—so that there would be no possible doubt. Details of the meals provided should be sent out to the Press, so that the public would know that if anything happened it was not the fault of the authorities. At any rate, they would be the judges."

Would They Give In?

All these opinions, as can easily be seen, are based on the assumption that the suffragist hunger-striker would not be able to resist the temptation of food if it wer placed temptingly before her, and that in no case would she die sooner than give in. We are glad to note that the *Observer*, of last Sunday, while believing that this treatment would lead to the end of militancy, showed rather more knowledge of militant suffragists than to suppose that they would give in sooner than die. "What is the solution?" it asks, and goes on thus:—"A Radical member, who is not by nature inhuman, urges that the militants go to prison by their own act. Hence, if they choose to starve themselves, let them. 'Keep them in and let them die.' This view is undoubtedly shared by an increasing number both of men and women. They argue that without the ability to meet force by force, and to meet the determination of the lawless by the stronger determination of the law-abiding, no means for preserving civilisation has yet been discovered. Those who say that if the suffragists insist on committing suicide they ought not to be prevented also believe in capital punishment, irrespective of sex, not because they are inhumane, but because they believe execution to be the best preventive of murder. If militants became responsible for murder they would, of course, be executed. The present kind of outrages, stopping short of that, are more difficult to grapple with. To allow militants to starve themselves in prison would lead in six months to the end of militancy, no doubt, but it would give the halo of martyrs to those who had died, and would probably carry their cause. In any case, Governments being what they are, that method will not be tried."

"An Absurdly Wild Suggestion"

The *Globe*, in its leading article on February 24, protested strongly, as follows, against such a policy:—

"Entirely natural as is the resentment aroused all over the country by the crazy campaign of violence, there is no reason why the antics of a few mad militants should cause the national indignation to overstep the limits of justice. We are relieved to hear from authoritative sources that the Home Office intends to do something at some time or another, but in view of Mr. McKenna's present inexplicable inaction, it is understandable that the Press should be flooded with suggestions as to the method of putting a stop to these intolerable outrages. A certain number of persons appear to favour the idea that the hunger-strikers should be allowed, if they please, to starve themselves to death. We must protest, with the utmost emphasis, against this absurdly wild suggestion. As the law stands, the governor of any prison is responsible for the lives of those committed to his charge, and no matter of what crime a prisoner may have been convicted the fact that he could be allowed to commit suicide without trouble would open the door to a revival of the most barbarous and secret methods of the Dark Ages. If the law is found to be too weak to deal with the militants, reasonable alterations can be made. But what we want above all is a Home Secretary who is no mere figurehead, but a capable and energetic administrator."

SHALL THEY BE DEPORTED?

Following upon a question asked recently in the House of Commons, it has been seriously argued in some quarters, and frivolously in many unsigned contributions to the correspondence columns of the daily papers, that Suffragists, when sentenced, should be deported, perhaps to St. Helena.

Sir Francis Burnand (in the *Weekly Dispatch*):

"*First catch your bomb-throwers.*

* * * * * *

"*Then*, when you have enough material to start a colony, send 'em aboard some specially provided ship which will convey them to Arctic regions. The married women to take their infirm halves; the unmarried—but as to such details the Government of the day must decide. Those Suffragettes who are not in sympathy with bomb-throwers should select certain members of Parliament, who should be empowered to represent their grievances and authorised to argue their case in the House of Commons. The ladies themselves could be heard in committee, and their *gravamina* thoroughly threshed out."

The *Observer* says in this connection:—

"That militants should be deported to St. Helena or elsewhere has been seriously argued, and in worse circumstances might become a thinkable plan; but even that has not yet come into the pale of practical politics."

"A Truce to Militancy!"

The same paper goes on to make a further suggestion:—

"The members of the Cabinet, the members of the Front Opposition Bench, and all politicians with one atom of courage ought to say that they will not give the vote to women, and will not consider the vote for women while militancy continues. This is the one simple and irresistible means of putting an end to the Pankhurst campaign. It is infinitely better than 'permissible suicide' or deportation to St. Helena. It is far more certain than sharper money penalties or a stricter ticket-of-leave. It is worth all the other suggestions put together. It is humane. It strikes at the moral root of the trouble, the 'noble motive.' So long as Suffragist outrages are followed by attempts to legislate, so long can the militants deceive others and themselves by the plausible claim that they are securing a moral triumph. . . . Let responsible statesmen who are Suffragists declare that their opinions are unchanged. Let them say that they will resume their advocacy as soon as it again becomes compatible with the vital interests of law in any ordered State. But let them announce, once for all, that until militancy has disappeared, attempts to legislate shall cease. If that course is taken the Pankhurst method will collapse like a house of cards. If it is not taken, nothing will remain but to take up quite different ground upon this question, and to bring Mr. Asquith's Government to account for its utter impotence to enforce respect for law."

No one, so far as we are aware, has made the corresponding suggestion that the first step towards peace should be taken by the Government, and should be in the form of an offer of a Government measure in return for a truce to militant action.

"NO RIGHT TO PASS JUDGMENT"

Mr. John Hedges, chairman of the West End Clothiers' Society, and director of the Royal Insurance Company, who, when his windows were broken, declined to prosecute the Suffragettes because of his strong belief in their cause, writes as follows in the *London Budget*:—

"I am opposed to militant methods, and I think it is a mistake in tactics to injure tradesmen for what is not their fault. The rank and file of the business and professional world is in favour of women's franchise, but it does alienate a man's sympathy if you break his windows for the sake of the very opinions which he shares with you. I don't say this is a justifiable attitude, but it is a very human one, and angry people are apt to forget that a good cause should, and does, stand on its merits alone. Why don't the women concentrate their energies on the Ministers who are to blame? Worry the Government. Show Mr. Lloyd George the votes he will gain or lose by taking up a strong attitude. So-called friends of the suffrage would not 'wobble' if there were a definite number of votes to be gained.

"But to return for a moment to actual militancy. I do recognise that very few reforms have been obtained without violence, and very few, if any, demands of the people have been achieved by purely constitutional methods. Remembering this, and the method in which working men obtained the vote, I do not see that I have any right to pass judgment on militancy."

"THE UTMOST RIGOUR OF THE LAW"

The *Daily Graphic* (February 21) says with indignation:—

"The only possible answer that a civilised community can ultimately make is to punish these criminals with the utmost rigour of the law. That answer would have been made months ago but for the extraordinary failure of the present Home Secretary to discharge the duties of his office."

It would be interesting to know, in view of what the Suffragist prisoners have already endured since 1905, what "the utmost rigour of the law" still contains for them.

MRS. FAWCETT'S CONDEMNATION

Mrs. Fawcett's condemnation of militancy has been so widely exploited in the Press that it is only fair to say that, in addition to the condemnation, which in many papers was all that was reported of her speech, Mrs. Fawcett said: "Deeply as I detest the violence of the militants, I equally detest the violence to which they have been subjected—the forcible feeding, which ought never to have been resorted to, and the nameless insults which they suffered in Wales."

Continuing, Mrs. Fawcett said she entirely agreed with Mr. Alfred Lyttelton's appeal to responsible statesmen to observe the causes that led to the disorder and remove the cause. It was no unusual demand, for statesmen did constantly consider questions of disorder in that broad way, as, for instance, in connection with the riots in India, when Viscount Morley sought not only to punish the rioters, but to deal with the cause of the disorder. Lord Morley then said, "The natives are seeking what we ourselves have taught them to value—liberty of self-government." She was second to none in condemning the militant outrages, but that was what the militants were seeking, and if any man who was irritated by their actions were to ask himself what men would have done in similar circumstances, what they would have done if they had worked for years for a great cause, had had the promise of success, and had then seen their hopes dashed and destroyed, he would find abundant answer in history. It was their duty to urge statesmen to remove the causes of all these disorders before even worse results were produced.

MR. H. W. MASSINGHAM

In the course of an article called "War on Everybody," which appeared in the *Daily News* last Monday, Mr. H. W. Massingham says:—

But are the suffragists getting a whit nearer their goal? No one sees it but themselves. For the new tactic of making war on everybody shows that they do not believe in their own cause. They don't think that they have the nation with them. They don't believe in the possibility of arguing it into agreement with their view. They acknowledge themselves she-Ishmaels, and themselves stamp their fight as desperate. Therefore in a democratic country they do not influence the politicals. They cannot produce an electoral battle and an electoral win on the suffrage, or a new party, or segment of a party, pledged to it. They complain of the trickery of politicians; but they themselves contemplate, and hardly disavow, the policy of trickery. And, on the other hand, they do not—they will not and cannot—boldly put on the whole armour of devilry, and kill some men in order to frighten others into giving them the vote. . . . The new attacks are attacks on property rather than on persons—and are none the more popular on that account. Let them be met by heavy fines rigorously enforced against those who can pay them. This method would not dispose of all the volunteers of the movement, and it would doubtless be met by invasion and the transfer of funds; but I think in the end it would cripple a conspiracy of the rich to use wealth for the purpose of coercing a whole people. In the interval, the suffragettes would win some apparent victories, which are inevitable because the State cannot treat women offenders as it treats men. . . . These are palliatives. The real remedy for suffragettism is to grant the suffrage. And that is what the suffragettes make so hard.

Mr. H. W. Nevinson's Answer

In answer to Mr. Massingham's statement that women will not and cannot "boldly put on the whole armour of devilry and kill some men in order to frighten others into giving them the vote," Mr. H. W. Nevinson writes as follows to the *Daily News* (February 26):—

"In my opinion that sentence far surpasses any incitement that Mrs. Pankhurst may have uttered, and I wish to protest against it.

"I am sure Mr. Massingham would not have written it if he had been in a position to realise the present spirit of many hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of women in the movement, rendered justly indignant, as they are, by the hideous ill-treatment women have received both in and out of prison; by the unspeakable insults to which Suffragists have been exposed by supporters of the Government, while Ministers looked calmly on or even incited the mob to further violence; by the trickery of the Government in dealing with this question, as when the best chance that Suffragists ever had was 'torpedoed' in November, 1911; and by the Government's recent breach of pledge in putting Suffragists off with the proposal of another private member's Bill, when they had promised to give them 'a far better opportunity.' Mr. Massingham cannot have realised the indignation which the Government has thus aroused in Suffragists, else he would not thus dare them to assassination. Unwittingly, he is undoing all the efforts of Mrs. Pankhurst and other leaders of the movement to prevent it. . . . Let us clear our minds of all this unreality, and stick to the one solid truth in Mr. Massingham's article: 'The real remedy for Suffragettism is to grant the Suffrage.' In last Sunday's *Weekly Dispatch*, to the question, 'What should you do with the Suffragettes?' Mr. Bernard Shaw replied, also in a similar brief sentence, 'I should give them the vote.' Believe me, there is no more to be said, and there is nothing else to be done."

"FOR THINKING WOMEN"

The *Standard*, the "paper for Thinking Women," said in its leading article on February 21:—

The hunger strike will probably lose its attractions when it is discovered that it will only inflict inconvenience upon the performer without diminishing the period of her detention by a day. If men are too soft-hearted or too chivalrous to enforce the law upon women, we might adopt the suggestion made by a correspondent and hand over the condemned persons to female prison governors, warders, and doctors, who could be trusted not to be deterred from doing their duty with all needful severity by any undue sympathy for riotous suffragists even when they were good-looking and young.

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WOMEN AND THE L.C.C. ELECTIONS

One of the strongest arguments for the political enfranchisement of women that we remember reading for some time occurs in Mrs. Humphry Ward's appeal as Chairman of the Local Government Advance Committee (Anti-Suffrage), which she issued last week on behalf of the women candidates at the forthcoming London County Council elections. After lamenting the paucity of women candidates—there being only twelve of these—Mrs. Ward goes on to ask: "Who, and what, is to blame for this state of things? *In the first place, no doubt, the state of the law.* Until the law is so altered that the residential qualification which is at present sufficient for membership of London Borough Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils, and Boards of Guardians, is made sufficient for County and Town Councils, we shall never get a really satisfactory supply of women candidates in local elections. So long as it is necessary to be an 'occupier' before you can be elected member of these bodies, so long will women remain, owing to their general economic position, most unfairly handicapped in this field, to their own and the nation's disadvantage. . . . Make a twelve months' residential qualification sufficient, and you will at once set free a force of great importance to the social welfare of England. . . . *We urgently appeal—we, anti-Suffragists, in common with Suffragists—to the Front Bench men on both sides of the House of Commons, to see this matter righted.*"

The italics are ours. Another reason given by Mrs. Ward for the lack of women candidates is "the huge unpopularity of the Suffrage movement," yet she proceeds to say, "The excuse is a good one, and, to a large extent, a true one; but it remains an excuse. It is impossible to exonerate either of the great parties from a discreditable indifference to the claims and wishes of women in this field."

Does not Mrs. Humphry Ward see any connection between the disinclination of the men's political parties to take the municipal claims of women seriously, and the fact that women have no political power, and are therefore of no use to the political parties?

WOMEN L.C.C. CANDIDATES

Central Hackney.—Miss N. Adler.
Chelsea.—Miss K. Wallas.
Dulwich.—Dr. Sophia Jevons.
East Marylebone.—Mrs. Miall Smith.
Hoxton.—Miss Alice Willoughby.
North Kensington.—Dr. Ethel Bentham.
Poplar.—Miss Susan Lawrence and Mrs. Eliot.
Strand.—Miss Pocock.
West Marylebone.—Miss Evelyn Fox.
Westminster.—Mrs. St. Clair Stobart.
Woolwich.—Miss Margaret Bondfield.

NO VOTE, NO TAX!

An action has been raised in the Court of Session, Edinburgh, by the Lord Advocate, on behalf of the Inland Revenue Commissioners, against Miss Janie Allan, of Greystone, Prestwick, Ayrshire, for £109, the amount of super-tax on her income.

Miss Allan maintains that on the sound interpretation of the Finance Act she is not liable, as the terms "individual" or "person" have been construed to mean male person in all the statutes relative to public Acts, and she insists that the same meaning must be given to them in all taxing statutes.

It is understood that when the case comes on the defendant will conduct her own defence.

LIBERAL WOMEN

A meeting of Birkdale women Liberals passed a resolution, on February 20, regretting that, owing to the ruling of the Speaker, Mr. Asquith was not able to redeem his pledges to women, but declaring that his offer of a private member's Bill without Government responsibility fell short of his previous pledge, and urging the Government to accept responsibility for a private member's Bill after second reading.

CORRESPONDENCE

"POLITICAL MILITANCY."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May I put in a few words in answer to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article under the above heading, and preface them by saying that I grant freely and without reservation all she postulates as to the moral and political effect of the system of asking questions at public and semi-public meetings, no matter of what complexion.

It is not the value of the effect of this line of action that I question. Nor do I want to discuss the point of whether it is or is not "militancy without violence." I only suggest—indeed, I assert—that by its very nature it will not attract any considerable number of non-militants because of its possible results to themselves. Therefore, I would not put it forward in a platform which is designed to bridge the gulf between those daring souls who carry their attack home to the public, and those who hesitate on the outposts of constitutionalism. It requires, I should imagine, a greater degree of physical courage and endurance to face such a scene as occurred at Llanystumdry than to break a whole street of windows. I do not think it will ever attract any but the boldest spirits; but I do think that the rest of the platform advanced, which is practically that of the Women's Freedom League, may serve for a sound rallying ground, and that we should press forward more and more the various fashions of refusing Government without consent and setting laws, regulations, and administration at defiance.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will not, I am sure, read into my remarks any criticism of the policy as a policy. It requires a high degree of courage and devotion, and no one has a more sincere admiration for those qualities than I.—Yours, &c.,

C. NINA BOYLE.

The Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

[I would like to reassure Miss Boyle that there was no misunderstanding on my part as to her position. I heartily welcomed her letter as a contribution to the general discussion. I quite agree that the policy of challenging Cabinet Ministers at public meetings will not appeal to any but the very boldest spirits, but I cannot help thinking that there are men and women absolutely courageous who are held back from certain forms of militancy not from fear, but simply from scruples of conscience or from temperamental dislike to any form of destruction. It is to these fearless souls that this particular form of warfare appeals. This does not in any way detract from the efficacy of the other forms of political militancy comprehended in tax resistance and passive defiance of the law.—(E. P. L.)]

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In a recent number of your paper (which I have not by me, having passed it on) a correspondent objects to protestations at public meetings because of the violence thus provoked in our opponents. This is not the spirit manifested in a parallel case by the first Christian martyr, of whom it was said, "He ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law" (Acts vi., 13), yet who persisted in his denunciations until he drew upon himself the full fury of the crowd. "When they heard these things they were cut to the heart and they gnashed on him with their teeth. . . . Then they cried out with a loud voice and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city and stoned him" (Acts vii., 54-57-58).

"One scarcely knows," says Mr. P. H. Pearse, Headmaster of St. Edna's College, Dublin, "whether modern sentimentalism or modern utilitarianism is the more sure sign of modern decadence. I would boldly preach the antique faith that fighting is the only noble thing, and that he only is at peace with God who is at war with the Powers of evil."—Yours, &c.,

GERTRUDE E. SHAW.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst and the vindictive and repressive measures threatened by the Government make it of urgent importance that those (and I believe there are large numbers) who are ready to carry out Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's suggestion of Militancy without Violence should "come out" at once, and organise a "National Boycott" to be carried out by suffragists in order to back up those who are now suffering so much for the Cause.

I suggest that the organisation could bring effective pressure on the Government by striking through the pocket and the vote whilst keeping well within the law, so that no retaliation was possible, with the one exception of tax resistance, which should only be carried out by those who can avoid distraint.

My other suggestions are withdrawal of support from the country in every way by refusing to contribute to all public charities, and withdrawal of voluntary help, as well as by exclusive trading as suggested in VOTES FOR WOMEN by one of your correspondents.

Then a strong and *united* election policy with a view of driving from office any anti-Government would be very effective, as the "vote" and the "pocket" are the weakest spots in the enemies' defences, and it is through these that women must strike.

I should be glad if other suffragists would give their opinion upon these suggestions, and also if we could meet together in order to organise at once a policy of Militancy without Violence, with which I believe thousands of suffragists are now ready to join.—Yours, &c.,

CHARLOTTE E. R. IRELAND.

8 and 9, Leinster Square, W.

LIBERAL WOMEN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Last year I resigned my office of President of our branch of the Women's Liberal Association in consequence of the set-back and disappointment of all our hopes that we should have the promise of the Liberal Government carried out with regard to the franchise for women this Session. Nearly all the members of our Association who held office did the same for the same reason, and would certainly decline to assist the Liberal party as at present constituted in any Parliamentary election in the near future.

I am extremely sorry that this step was forced upon us, but it gives us the opportunity of concentrating our help to the cause of women's franchise without let or hindrance from either party who may be in power, and we hope in that way to gain in strength and to go on from "strength to strength" in this righteous cause.

I have been a subscriber to VOTES FOR WOMEN from the first, and wherever I may be I make good use of my copy, and send it away to remote country districts. Last year, in consequence of a visit to Devonshire and the help of the paper, we formed a new branch that has been most successful and enthusiastic, and made many men converts, who came bravely forward to help the cause at the first public meeting that was held. I hope to be able to continue to give my help, but I work in many ways for the public, and am just completing my twenty-first year of continuous service as a manager of our council schools, and also a manager of the council for the County High School, so you will know I am not an idle person, and my desire is to work while it is day—and to the last.—With best wishes, and thanks for all the sacrifices you are making, yours, &c.,

Cambridge. (Mrs.) ROBIN ALLEN.

ANOTHER SOLICITOR'S VIEW.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have read Mr. Pearse's elegant letter in your paper of the 14th inst. He has acted on our professional saying, "If you have no case, abuse the Plaintiff's Attorney." J. S. Mill would have been glad of his letter as a working model of fallacies. It exhibits the usual faulty generalisations, question-begging epithets, and red-herring remarks of the prejudiced Anti-Woman Suffragist. He should be the last to reproach woman with failings. Who for centuries has settled the "education" of woman—a training designed to stimulate the feelings at the expense of the intellect? As Mary Astell said in 1696 in her essay "In Defence of the Female Sex":—

"A man ought no more to value himself upon being wiser than a woman, if he owe his advantage to a better education and greater means of information, than he ought to boast of his courage for beating a man when his hands are bound."

Mr. Pearse seems content to leave women in the drawing-room and kitchen. I suppose it is because they have hitherto been generally found there. But he says nothing of the women in the streets, factories, and other homelike places, where women who have no money are kept in enforced bondage by men who have.

In conclusion, I cannot resist a *tu quoque* in describing Mr. Pearse as oversexed.—Yours, &c.,

THORNTON JONES.

34, Old Jewry, E.C.

MR. BURNS AT BATTERSEA.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Mr. John Burns is reported to have referred at Battersea last night to suffrage interruptions as "this tyranny of organised blackguardism." I think you may perhaps like to have a personal account from an interrupter. I arrived a little late, and only found standing room at the back of the hall, among men who eyed me with suspicious glances. I only saw two other women; I have no idea whether they were suffragists. When Mr. Burns said there was much to be done—there must be a war on want, a campaign against consumption, I said, "And Votes for Women." I was seized under the arms, lifted off the ground, and run out. I was not "organised"; I saw in the morning paper that Mr. Burns was to speak, and I went alone. As for "blackguardism," can that word possibly be applied to my simple and obvious comment?—Yours, &c.,

G. V.

MILITANT ACTION

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, Feb. 20.—Tea pavilion, Kew Gardens, destroyed by fire. (Miss Lilian Lenton and Miss Joyce Locke arrested.)

Pillar-boxes attacked at Edinburgh (upwards of 2,000 letters damaged), Leith, Leeds, and Northampton.

Golf course damaged at Horsforth, Leeds; wooden shelter burnt.

Club-house at Old Manchester Golf Club set on fire.

Keyholes of front doors filled with leaden pellets at Moseley, Birmingham.

Friday, Feb. 21.—Grand stand, Kempton Park Racecourse, set on fire. (Attributed pretty generally to suffragists, but not by the racecourse authorities.)

Fourteen plate-glass windows deeply cut at Ashford, Kent.

Letter-boxes attacked at St. John's Hill, Battersea, Lee, and Hammersmith.

Saturday, Feb. 22.—Outbreak of fire at the Guildhall (supposed by some to be the work of suffragists).

Letter-boxes attacked at Lewisham, Richmond, Beeston, and Scarborough.

Telephone wires cut in four public boxes at Birmingham.

Telegraph wires cut at Chester Moor Dene, near Newcastle.

Window broken at Globe Electric Theatre, Gosforth, Newcastle, where Mr. Ure was to speak.

L.C.C. notice boards on Hampstead Heath smeared with green paint, in which appeared the stencilled words, "Votes for Women."

Monday, Feb. 24.—Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst at 2.30.

Signal wire, Great Western Railway, near Llantarnam, cut. (Attributed to Suffragists.)

Pillar-box close to Vine Street Police Station fired; phosphorus put in letter-box at Catford.

Tuesday, Feb. 25.—A pillar box at Forest Hill fired; a considerable number of letters damaged.

Wednesday, Feb. 26.—Telephone wires at a dozen call offices in Belfast severed by knives.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, Feb. 20.—At the Richmond Police Court, charged with firing the Kew Gardens Tea Pavilion, Miss Lilian Lenton and Miss Joyce Locke, remanded in custody till Thursday, Feb. 27.

Friday, Feb. 21.—At the London Sessions, before Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., all charged with window-breaking:—

Miss Editha Warwick Ball, six months' imprisonment in the second division.

Miss Sarah Benett, six months, in the second division.

Miss Clara Lambert, six months, in the second division.

Miss Pleasance Pendred, six months, in the second division.

Miss Jane Shortt, six months, in the second division.

Miss Margaret Haley did not surrender to her bail; a Bench warrant was issued.

Monday, Feb. 24.—At the Richmond Police Court, charged with attempting to damage mails; Miss Stevenson, committed for trial.

Tuesday, Feb. 25.—At the Epsom Police Court, before Sir William Vincent, Mrs. Pankhurst brought up; remanded on bail.

At the Wealdstone Police Court, charged with endangering passengers by setting a compartment of a train on fire on October 25, Mr. Hugh Franklin, committed for trial, bail was allowed.

Wednesday, Feb. 26.—At the Epsom Police Court, before Sir William Vincent and Bench, Mrs. Pankhurst again brought up, committed for trial, and remanded in custody.

IN THE COURTS

Last Friday, as the *Daily Citizen* remarked, was "militant Suffragist day" at the London Sessions. Five women, charged with window-breaking above the value of £5, surrendered to their bail, and were sentenced by Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., to the following terms of imprisonment in the Second Division:—

Miss Editha Warwick Ball, six months (eight windows, value £120); Miss Sarah Benett, six months (two windows, value £180); Miss Clara Lambert, six months (two windows, value £180); Miss Pleasance Pendred, six months (one window, value £15); Miss Jane Shortt, six months (three windows, value £75).

Miss Margaret Haley did not surrender to her bail, and a Bench warrant was issued for her arrest.

All the defendants made speeches from the dock.

Miss Margaret Haley

We are asked to correct a misstatement which has appeared in the Press to the effect that Miss Margaret Haley escheated her bail in failing to appear at the London Sessions last Friday. Miss Haley was not given bail; she was awaiting her trial in custody, and in consequence of the hunger strike became so ill that she was released before the date of her trial.

Charged With Damaging the Mails

Miss Stevenson was charged at the Richmond Police Court on Monday, February 24, with attempting to damage the mails by posting, on Saturday, in the Richmond head office letter-box, a packet containing two tubes of phosphorus solution. Evidence was given, Miss Stevenson herself saying she posted two letters, and was prepared to give the names and addresses. She was committed for trial, bail being allowed.

MR. HUGH FRANKLIN

At Wealdstone Petty Sessions, last Tuesday, Mr. Hugh Franklin was charged on remand with wilfully setting fire to a Great Central train, and thereby endangering the lives of passengers, on October 25, 1912.

It was alleged that, on the arrival of the 4.5 p.m. train from Marylebone at Harrow, the accused was seen to leave a compartment of the train which was on fire. He was summoned, but failed to appear, and wrote a letter to the chairman of the Bench stating that he was a Suffragist, and that he would only attend by the issuing of a warrant. However, he was not arrested until last week.

The defendant cross-examined the witnesses at considerable length, seeking to show that he had been wrongly identified, but they were emphatic that he was the man.

Other evidence was given, and the defendant, who reserved his defence, was committed for trial at the Middlesex Sessions on March 8. He applied for bail, and said the Home Office, who had been approached on the matter, did not oppose it. The Bench, after retiring, agreed to grant bail in the prisoner's security of £500 and two sureties of £250 each.

We understand that Mr. Franklin was forcibly fed three times a day during the week he was on remand in Brixton Gaol, as a consequence of his protesting, by means of the hunger strike, against not being allowed bail. He was consequently in a very weak condition of health when he appeared in court.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Miss Evelyn Cotton Haig	Jan. 29	1 month
Miss Margaret McFarlane	" "	1 "
Miss Nora Newton	" "	1 "
Miss Marie Neill	" "	1 "
Miss Margaret James	Feb. 5	6 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 "
Mrs. Maud Brindley	" "	5 "
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	" "	3 "
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	" "	3 "
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 "
Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
Miss Annie Lansbury	" "	1 month " "
Mrs. Moor	" "	1 " " "
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	" "	2 months' " "
Mrs. Eva Watson	" "	1 month " "
Miss Joyce Locke	Feb. 20	Remanded, bail refused
Miss Editha Warwick Ball	Feb. 22	6 months, 2nd division
Miss Sarah Benett	" "	6 " " "
Miss Clara Lambert	" "	6 " " "
Miss Pleasance Pendred	" "	6 " " "
Miss Jane Shortt	" "	6 " " "

In Tullamore Gaol

Mrs. Purser	Jan. 30	1 month hard labour

In Brixton Gaol

Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA

Legislative Victory in Nevada

A correspondent sends us particulars of the voting on the equal suffrage amendment, which, as we announced in our issue of February 7, was passed by the Nevada Legislature on January 24. In the Assembly this was carried by a majority of 49 to 3, and in the Senate by a majority of 19 to 3. Having been passed by two successive legislatures, those of 1911 and 1913, the proposal can now, according to the Constitution, be submitted to the electors in the form of a Referendum at the next general election, which, unless anything unforeseen occurs, should take place in November, 1914.

"Our legislative work is therefore closed," adds our correspondent, "and our popular campaign begins. There is small doubt of our success. . . . You are sure to win in England, but I wish you did not have to pay so dearly for justice."

The *Woman's Journal* (Boston) comments thus on the recent suffrage crisis in England, and the indignation shown by the militants:—

"American suffragists regret some of the forms that their indignation takes; but the provocation has been something utterly beyond American women's experience. . . . Arrest, imprisonment with hard labour, hunger strikes, and forcible feeding—these are the Government's prescription for curing political discontent—which was never yet allayed by such means. Still less can it be allayed in this way when it has behind it the great maternal instinct. The English militants are seeking the franchise not for their own sake, but for the sake of the weak, the poor, the oppressed—wronged women, starving children, the great mass of earth's disinherited. . . . The militants believe that these evils could be largely helped by woman's ballot, and they do not care what happens to them if they can only get it, in order to make the world better. However wrong the method, the spirit is as admirable as the provocation has been extreme."—A. S. B.

COMING EVENTS

We remind our readers that the Mi-Carême Carnival Party in aid of the International Suffrage Shop will be held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, to-morrow (Saturday), from 3 p.m. till midnight. Admission, 6d., by ticket bought beforehand, or 1s. at the hall. Miss Lena Ashwell and Mr. George Lansbury will open the carnival, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Despard, and Miss Eva Moore will be among the hostesses. There will be no suffrage speeches. Miss Ellen Terry is to present the prizes, which will be decided by ballot, for a fancy-dress parade, and Miss Cicely Hamilton will be in charge of the wax-works.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold their March meeting at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, March 3, at 8 p.m. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will be one of the speakers.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting of the Cambridge University Fabian Society next Thursday, March 6, at 8.15 p.m.

The Women's Tax Resistance League have decided to hold monthly meetings for their members on the first Thursday in every month. The first of these meetings will take place at the offices of the League, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W., at 4 p.m., on March 6.

At the annual meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which opens after we go to press on Thursday, February 27, at the Holborn Hall, the future policy of the Union will be considered. This policy will be announced at a public meeting in the Kensington Town Hall, on Friday, March 7, when the speakers will include Mrs. Fawcett, the Earl of Lytton, and Mr. Philip Snowdon, M.P.

At the next monthly At Home of the Actresses' Franchise League, on Friday, March 7, at 3 p.m., in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant, the speakers will be Professor Bickerton, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, and Mrs. Flora Annie Steel. Miss Cicely Hamilton will be in the chair.

As announced last week, the Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, will present a new dramatic interpretation of "Hamlet" on Sunday, March 9. The play will be produced according to the version of Mr. Louis Calvert, as laid down in his book, "An Actor's Hamlet." Mr. Calvert will himself play Hamlet, and not Miss Edith Craig, as originally announced.

THE SPIRITUAL MILITANCY LEAGUE

Nearly 100 members of the new Spiritual Militancy League for Woman Suffrage attended the church of St. Ethelburga, in the City, last Sunday, all wearing the orange scarf which is the badge of membership. The Rev. Dr. Cobb preached the sermon, and at the end spoke of the aims of the new Society. "Without criticism of methods which have brought the whole question of women's status before the nation," adds the *Manchester Guardian*, the preacher "referred to the dethronement of women during the past four centuries. The sermon was an appeal to the new society and its adherents to supply an influence that will balance any excess and enhance every precious element in the movement for women's enfranchisement."

Next Step in the Campaign

The Spiritual Militants will attend the three o'clock afternoon service at Westminster Abbey on Sunday next, March 2. They are to assemble outside the main entrance, wearing their orange scarves, which can be obtained from Mrs. Stanton Coit, 30, Hyde Park Gate, or, if necessary, borrowed from her at the church door.

"AN ARTIST'S PETITION"

We have received a communication criticising the poem by H. W. N., which appeared under the above title in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, and we gather from it that our correspondent did not quite realise that the verses were intended to be satirical. We are sure that a second perusal will reveal the humour that lies in the poem, and rob it of any sinister aspect it may have presented at first sight.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association.
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
141, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political Reform League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Suffrage Atelier,
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James's.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

"QUI VIVE!"—See that your district is covered with Suffrage posters.—For particulars write, Mrs. R. Bentinck, 73, Harley Street, W.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION, at Essex Hall (small), Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, March 3, at 8 p.m. All seats free. Chair, Mrs. Mansell-Moullin; speakers, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Madame Pascoli, Mrs. M. E. Davis (in Welsh).

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds regular public meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers: March 5, H. Baillie-Weaver, Esq., on "The Status of Woman," and Mrs. Nevinson. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30. Admission free.

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